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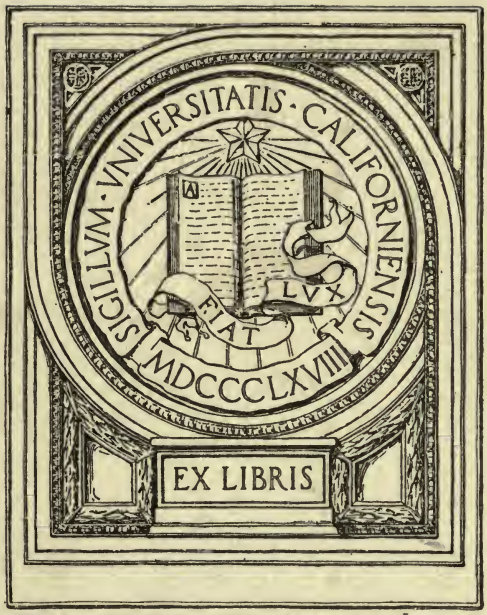
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NATURE IN ITALIAN ART

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Plate I

Anderson

THE TEMPEST

FROM THE PICTURE BY GIORGIONE IN THE PALAZZO GIOVANELLI, VENICE. (*See p.* 243)

A storm-effect at once realistic and poetical; a unique study at that period of atmospheric conditions and their influence on scenery, and one of the earliest in which naturalistic landscape takes the leading place

NATURE IN ITALIAN ART

A STUDY OF LANDSCAPE BACKGROUNDS FROM GIOTTO TO TINTORETTO BY EMMA GURNEY SALTER M.A. AUTHOR OF FRANCISCAN LEGENDS IN ITALIAN ART

WITH 49 ILLUSTRATIONS

ADAM & CHARLES BLACK : SOHO SQUARE : LONDON : W : 1912

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PREFACE

THE treatment of Nature by the Medieval and Renaissance painters of Italy has for the most part been considered as merely accessory to their figure-subjects; its distinctive merits have thus been insufficiently appreciated. The object of the present book is to show that there existed from the thirteenth century an attempt to study Nature for her own sake, tracing the development of landscape from the summary conventions of Giotto and his followers to its magnificent culmination in the Venetian School. The pictures discussed are typical examples of the various masters, attention being throughout concentrated on their landscape setting; Nature is taken to include flowers and beasts. Chronology is observed wherever possible, although a certain amount of overlapping is inevitable in passing from one School to another. The Venetians have been reserved for the later chapters, and are there treated consecutively.

I have endeavoured to acknowledge ideas and attributions taken from critics of Italian painting, foremost among whom one must mention Mr. Berenson. No writer on this subject can overlook the many eloquent passages scattered throughout

"Modern Painters"—the fruit of Ruskin's fine insight and minute study. J. Gilbert's "Cadore" and "Landscape in Art" are most valuable, though now somewhat out of date. Other books consulted will be found in the Bibliography. I am especially indebted to my brother W. H. Salter for criticisms and suggestions.

In addition to the General Index, a Topographical Index is supplied, showing the Churches, Galleries, and Collections where the pictures described are to be found. Pictures known to me through reproductions only are marked †. It will be remembered that pictures in Italian galleries are constantly renumbered.

E. G. S.

London. *January* 1912

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NATURE IN ITALIAN ART

CHAPTER I

INFLUENCES AFFECTING NATURE-PAINTING IN MEDIEVAL ITALY

> Salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus,
> magna virum; tibi res antiquæ laudis et artis
> ingredior. Georg. ii. 173–5.

THE latter part of the thirteenth century in Italy witnessed, among other awakenings, that of a love of Nature that found expression in literature and art alike. It was a love that had existed of old in the Latin race, as countless exquisite allusions in her poets show. It was a love, not only of the fair earth in general, the *suavis dædala tellus* of Lucretius, but more especially of their own storied and fertile Italy, as expressed in the famous lines of her "landscape lover," Vergil, at the head of this chapter. Still more personal was the affection for certain favourite spots, such as that of Catullus for his Sirmio.

This loving pride in their country, and in special places rendered dear by association, the medieval

painters inherited, while such appreciative descriptions as Pliny's of the Springs of the Clitumnus ("Epist." viii. 8) are echoed by Pope Pius II (Æneas Sylvius) on the country expeditions in which he delighted. In classical art such allusions are paralleled by many wall-paintings at Pompeii, and by frescoes like those of orchard and woodland trees in Livia's villa; by such mosaics as the doves and berried ivy from Hadrian's villa (now in the Capitol), and by such sculptures as the "Miracle of the Rain" on the Column of Marcus Aurelius. The wreaths of flowers, fruit, and foliage on the Ara Pacis seem the forerunners of the naturalistic festoons in the mosaics of San Vitale, Ravenna, or of the Lateran Baptistery, as they in turn anticipate the Della Robbia.

Similarly, in the thirteenth century the painters' return to Nature finds its parallel in the writings of St. Francis, of Dante, and of Petrarch. By a thousand tender allusions in the "Rime," Petrarch associates Nature with his love and with his loss; his letters describing Vaucluse show that he genuinely appreciated wild country scenery, woods, and a garden. St. Francis' exultant joy in Nature finds expression in his "Cantico," with its thanksgiving for "calm weather and for all weather," and in many stories in the early "Legends." The painters loved to gather round his figure his "little sisters the birds," and so once again, on frescoed walls, the sparrow found a home, and the swallow a nest for herself, in the House

of the Most High. The truth and tenderness of Dante's references to Nature have been often extolled ; one may quote in passing the simile of the rapid melting of the hoar-frost ("Inf." xxiv. 4–15); the famous "trembling of the sea" at dawn ("Purg." i. 125–8), and the description of "the thorn that first all through the winter I had marked show itself unbending and harsh, and after on its topmost branch bearing the rose" ("Par." xiii. 133–6).

In Renaissance times, Aretino the worldling can give a glowing account of a sunset, and lament that Titian had not been present to immortalise it. Contemporary artists loved the decorative treatment of plants, animals, and landscape, as exemplified in Raffaelle's *Loggie*, and in the reliefs, intarsia, and tapestries of that peerless treasure-house of Renaissance taste, Duke Federigo's Palace at Urbino. A sincere and unaffected pleasure in Nature does indeed pervade Italian art and literature, amid much that is conventional. It may not be always insisted upon, but it is there, present, if in the background, just as in the Homeric epics, where some seemingly casual, and yet most felicitous epithet or phrase is given in passing, like a caress, to sea or sky or kindly fruit of earth.

One cannot pretend that landscape took equal rank with figures before the time of Giorgione, who, as Mr. H. Cook has well said, was the first to substitute "landscape with figures" for "figures with a landscape background." Too little account has, however,

been taken of it. Landscapes were stipulated for in contracts with painters, such as that between Isabella d'Este and Gian Bellini, and between Bazzi and the monks of a convent near Siena. A glimpse of landscape is often introduced into a picture where one would not expect it, from sheer love of it, evidently; a notable instance is one of Costa's beautiful altar-pieces in San Giovanni in Monte, Bologna (*cf.* p. 155). Sometimes the picture is actually spoilt by an over-insistence on details such as results in the menagerie let loose in Mansueti's *St. Jerome* in the Bergamo Gallery.

With the earlier painters, this delight in Nature, as Ruskin has shown, was primarily in bright colours, and in details of flowers and foliage, which they treated far more skilfully than the larger, or more distant features of natural scenery, such as clouds or mountains. In this they were like children. Perhaps their hearts taught them

> To see a world in a grain of sand
> And a heaven in a wild flower.

Perhaps they only recognised their artistic limitations.

In the mosaics also, produced under Byzantine influence, we find that natural objects are treated with an evident care and zeal that sometimes, though not invariably, outrun the skill in execution. Gorgeous peacocks with tails outspread, snowy doves, the cock beside St. Peter, harts drinking from the water-brook at the foot of the Cross, sheep on the green banks of Jordon, date-palms, vines with clustered grapes,

wreaths of fruit and foliage such as have been already cited—all these are familiar features in the ancient Christian mosaics, and were still being repeated in those of the thirteenth century by such craftsmen as Torriti. Cavallini, Cimabue, and Giotto stand in a direct succession from Roman and Byzantine craftsmen, and have themselves left us mosaics—Cavallini in the two great Roman Churches of Sta. Cecilia and Sta. Maria in Trastevere, Cimabue in the Duomo at Pisa, and Giotto at St. Peter's, Rome. Frescoes of the Primitives reproduce these same mosaic features, together with their gilt background, or intense blue sky, with red and blue patches for clouds, their water in wavy lines, and rocks of extraordinary formation.

Classical antiquity had an influence on medieval art in Italy such as it had in no other country. It deserves, therefore, the first consideration here. It was not fully felt until the dawn of the Renaissance, when classical sculptures and frescoes became known, and the ancient buildings of Rome were studied. Apart from these, the main channel of its influence was its literature, which roused a frenzy of enthusiasm in the Renaissance scholars and painters and their public. Classical myths and allegories now became at least as popular as sacred subjects, and many of them demanded an out-of-doors setting, like the charming *Death of Procris* of Piero di Cosimo, or Giorgione's *Apollo and Daphne*. The *Primavera* of Botticelli is a good instance of the exact transcription in painting of

a passage in literature, the lovely verses of Lucretius (v. 737–9) finding their no less lovely rendering on the canvas (*cf.* p. 144). Contemporary literature also played its part. The same painter's *Birth of Venus* owes its inspiration to some verses of Politian's, though these are not slavishly followed in the picture. Probably in many other cases contemporary literature would account for the landscape setting and natural features—in such pictures, for instance, as Giovanni Bellini's *Allegories;* it might also furnish a clue to the unsolved riddle of their meaning.

Sometimes the landscape setting was specified by the patron or buyer—Venetian senator, it might be, or wealthy convent, or princely Mæcenas. How minute were the instructions sometimes given we can see from those sent by Isabella d'Este[1] to the unfortunate Perugino for her "poetic invention." Besides enumerating a number of mythological figures, she writes: "The olive-tree sacred to Pallas will rise out of the ground at her side . . . at the side of Venus her favourite myrtle-tree will flower and . . . a landscape should be introduced with a river or the sea in the distance. Fauns, satyrs, and loves will be seen . . . some flying through the air, others swimming on the waves or borne on the wings of white swans." The not very successful picture resulting from these instructions is now in the Louvre. Yet, in spite of all vexations, the painters' debt to the patron was scarcely less than to literature; both gave them an

[1] J. Cartwright (Mrs. Ady), "Isabella d'Este," i. 331–2.

inspiration, and a definite subject, suggesting images which they might body forth.

No doubt scenery associated with the private patron or donor was often introduced, just as the city or convent commissioning the picture is. For instance, in Luini's *Presentation of Christ in the Temple* at Saronno, the *Santuario* for which it was painted is seen through an arch at the back of the fresco. Botticelli's *Pallas and the Centaur* in the Pitti Palace, commemorating as it perhaps does the triumph of Lorenzo de' Medici's diplomacy in certain negotiations at Naples, has in the background a bay, with a stately ship on its waters, and hills round—a possible suggestion, rather than an attempted representation, of the Bay of Naples. Sometimes a play on the patron's name may account for some detail, like the oaks in Botticelli's Sistine Chapel fresco, introduced in compliment to the Rovere Pope.

In some instances, the landscape is of course determined by the figure-story: *St. Jerome* involves a desert, or forest, the *Resurrection* a garden and rocks. In others, it is adapted to harmonise with it, as in Titian's *Sacred and Profane Love*, in several of the Tintorettos at San Rocco, Venice, and usually in Perugino. But, in representing Scriptural scenes, it must be admitted that the earlier painters as a rule made no attempt to depict what they may have known of the scenery of the Holy Land, or of the actual setting of the sacred incidents, beyond perhaps inserting a few palm-trees. Thus we have Niccolò

da Foligno's National Gallery *Crucifixion*, and the *Gethsemane* of Boccatis da Camerino at Perugia, both with a lake, or the sea, in the immediate background.

Religious associations with different natural objects did, however, influence their place in pictures as they had done in the mosaics. The Dove, the "Pelican in her piety," the Lioness licking her cubs to life, the Peacock, emblem of immortality, the Pomegranate, emblem of fruitfulness, the Rose, the Lily, the Olive (*quasi oliva speciosa in campis*)—these are but a few obvious symbols out of many that frequently recur, some culled from the mystical garden of the Song of Songs. A picture by an unknown painter in the Pinacoteca at Lucca, from which Francia derived his *Immaculate Conception* in San Frediano, Lucca, includes the symbolical Cedar, Cypress, Palm, Pomegranate, Rose-garden, and vases of myrrh and balsam, illustrating Ecclus. xxiv. 17, 18, 20.[1] Botticelli's *Madonna of the Palm-bower* at Berlin illustrates the same passage.

The popular medieval Bestiaries account for the presence of many quaint animals, such as those sculptured at Verona and Parma, on San Rufino, Assisi, and San Pietro, Spoleto. Pintoricchio's sirens, in the National Gallery *Return of Ulysses*, holding their tails in their hands, are anticipated on a Romanesque column in Santo Stefano, Bologna.

Sometimes the choice of details is determined by the

[1] *Vide* M. Carmichael, "Francia's Masterpiece" (Kegan Paul, 1909), pp. 20, 21, and *note*.

artist's personal predilections. Such was that love of birds that gained for Paolo Doni his nickname Uccello, such Botticelli's affection for roses and branches of myrtle or jessamine, and Girolamo dai Libri's for lemon-bushes. Certain flowers appear constantly in grassy foregrounds, and were evidently favourites—the daisy, columbine, wild geranium, pink, wild strawberry with fruit and blossom, iris, poppy, violets, and clover. One also sees ivy-leaved toadflax, starwort, veronica, mulleins, lamium, medick, plantains, campions, and various little ferns. These and others are often so accurately and lovingly painted that we must venture to dissent from Mr. Roger Fry when he speaks of "the purely decorative and summary abstractions of flowers which were usual among quattrocentist painters."[1] The favourite trees seem to be the fig, cypress, olive, plane, pomegranate, *laurus nobilis*, and ilex, and, with the Umbrians and Francia, a slightly conventionalised aspen-poplar. Correggio and Titian especially love the oak. The large, floppy birds so often introduced are probably intended for wild duck. Lionardo's sketch-books testify alike with pen and pencil to his minute, loving study of birds, flowers, trees, and aspects of Nature—the curve of the breaking wave, a cloud-mass at sunset, the deeper blue of landscape in winter than in summer, the indistinctness of leaves in sunlight, the colour of rain compared with that of the clouds from which it falls, and so forth.

[1] "Giovanni Bellini," p. 28, *note* 1.

Whatever individual preferences the painter may have had for flowers or trees, he always preferred the scenery round his native city to any other, and introduced that into his backgrounds. This was not because he had seen no other; even the earlier painters travelled about Italy, Giotto, for instance, visiting Naples (to say nothing of Avignon), and Masolino Castiglione d'Olona in Lombardy. It was a part of the intensely local patriotism of the day—a man was not merely a Tuscan, far less an Italian, he was first and foremost a Florentine, a Pisan, or a Sienese. So that we have now reached one of the most determining influences on their landscape painting. Accordingly, in Venetian pictures, the mountains are almost always Dolomites or suggested by the Dolomites, and we find pre-Alpine slopes crowned with towers, and the thatched farmsteads that are chiefly seen in the Veneto; in Florentine pictures, we have the typical Val d'Arno landscape—a river winding between hills; dark trees, such as cypresses, in groves or singly, and flowery fields or hedges. Thus the painters of Central Italy give us the bare, burnt hill-sides, dotted with low mop-headed trees, characteristic of the country round Arezzo or Siena. The Umbrian School is, of course, noted for its lovely, typical backgrounds, with their wide valleys, green hills, skies of diffused light, and still waters, of which Perugino's *Crucifixion* at Sta. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi, Florence, is the supreme example. The landscapes of the Lombard and Ferrara-Bolognese Schools

are also faithful reproductions of local scenery, and it is noticeable how a hot, heavy atmosphere seems to pervade some pictures by Solario and other Milanese.

The absence of local art in some parts of Italy is a matter for curious speculation; the rich Ligurian coast, for instance, round Genoa produced no painter of note, Naples had to import Giotto and Simone Martini, while Mount Soracte, though not lacking its sacred poet, found no painter as did Monte Amiata in the neighbouring Tuscany. Milanese art is notoriously exotic, many painters reckoned as Milanese came from lesser towns in the vicinity—from Brescia, like Foppa; from the shores of Lago Maggiore, like Luini and Cesare da Sesto; or, like Bazzi, from Vercelli. We might have thought that this was due to the enervating atmosphere of a rich plain, were it not for the remembrance of Castelfranco, Ferrara, and Bologna. There would almost seem to have been some truth in Vasari's attribution of art-giving properties to the light air of Tuscany—praise recalling that given by Euripides to the climate of Athens. Judging from modern Florentine taste, the air has grown heavier, or lost its spell.

Such faithful reproduction of scenery as we have described only came in with the early Renaissance, together with human portraiture; before that, accuracy in the broad general features of landscape was as unknown as accuracy in copying faces and expression. Piero de' Franceschi may be cited as an admirable

example of the new method in both branches of painting. Mr. Berenson, one may venture to suggest, puts the date too late when he contends[1] that "in the fifteenth century . . . anything that could pass for rocks, trees, hills, and mountains sufficed; and, even later, when more was expected, portrait landscape was rarely required." He himself refutes the contention in his essay on Masolino in the same volume, in his demonstration of Sassetta's accurate delineation of Monte Amiata,[2] and in his statement[3] that "Baldovinetti and Pollaiuolo had attempted to treat landscape as naturalistically as painting would permit. Their ideal was to note it down with absolute correctness from a given point of view." This, of course, is far from being the modern ideal in landscape-painting, as our next chapter will show, and Mr. Berenson goes on to say that "faithful reproduction of contours" is not enough when light and atmosphere are lacking. But that does not affect the fact of the accuracy of these painters, of Gian Bellini and Cima, for example, a great part of whose work falls within the fifteenth century.

Accordingly, we find many landscapes that can be identified, often with a town introduced, as Florence and Val d'Arno are in Botticini's *Assumption* of the National Gallery and Pollaiuolo's *Annunciation* at Berlin, or Mantua and the lakes round it in † Man-

[1] "Study and Criticism of Italian Art," p. 141 (2nd series).

[2] "A Sienese Painter of the Franciscan Legend," p. 38 (*note*).

[3] "Florentine Painters of the Renaissance," pp. 57–8.

tegna's *Death of the B. Virgin* at Madrid. Other instances will readily occur to every reader's mind.

This accurate observation of Nature came gradually to express itself in a desire to render changes of season and atmospheric effects—a desire with which the earlier painters have not been sufficiently credited, although it has been admitted in the case of some later ones. Ruskin and others have dwelt on the unshadowed, monotonous brightness of Angelico's scenery and, indeed, such landscapes as some by him and by Benozzo Gozzoli or Lorenzo di Credi do suggest winterless Avilion or ever-fruitful Phæacia, or recall the old poet's Paradise:

> Thy gardens and thy gallant walks
> Continually are green.

But, on closely examining other pictures of their time, or earlier, one is astonished to see how often different aspects of the sky—the light of the setting or rising sun, or storm-clouds—are attempted, although at times with somewhat crude result. Instances will be given in later chapters.

Architecture was another influence materially affecting the landscape backgrounds, and introduced from early days. Sometimes the landscape is framed in the arches of a *loggia*, a favourite device with Lorenzo di Credi and Perugino, sometimes ruined columns or arches or porticos are covered with grasses and shrubs. The architecture would be either Gothic or Renaissance, as the taste of the time demanded, it is intensely interesting to trace its development from the flat,

Gothic façades of Giotto and his followers to the Palladian perspectives of Tintoretto and Veronese. Some painters, such as Masolino and Angelico, actually show the transition from, or combination of Gothic and Renaissance styles. When in later paintings, such as several by Perugino and Raffaelle, the buildings introduced are Gothic or Northern European in character, this may be due to Flemish influence. Reminiscences of classical architecture at Rome are often found, sometimes several famous Roman monuments are brought in together, as in Ghirlandaio's *Visitation* at the Louvre, or Pintoricchio's *Baptism* in the Sistine Chapel. Pictures of old buildings which are now destroyed or much altered are invaluable in helping us to realise them as they originally were, a good example is Gentile Bellini's representation of the ancient façade of San Marco, in the Venice Academy. Classical statues are also frequently introduced, as by Gozzoli in his *Rape of Helen* in the National Gallery, by Mantegna, Filippino Lippi, Signorelli, and others.

No consideration of the influences affecting Nature-painting in Italy would be complete without a reference to medieval sculpture. As in painting the human figure the artists were inspired by the Pisani, so in landscape, especially in Florence, they were inspired by such bas-reliefs as those of Ghiberti on the Baptistery doors—splendid offspring of such rude parentage as the bronze doors of the Duomo at Pisa, Monreale, or Verona. Ghiberti and Andrea della Robbia, indeed, pushed their love of landscape so far as to

transgress the limits of sculpture, and to become pictorial in treatment; their favourite fir-wood on a knoll is often seen in the painters. The exquisite mouldings round doors and windows of the Renaissance period—flowers, birds, fruits, nuts, fir-cones, acorns, seed-pods, and the like—are too familiar to need emphasis. Beside those in the Palace at Urbino already mentioned, one may instance those of the Cappella Colleoni at Bergamo, and Jacopo della Quercia's door in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena. In Lombardy, terra-cotta often took the place of marble or *gesso*. A terra-cotta window-moulding, for example, preserved in the Castello Sforzesco, Milan, shows naturalistic vine-leaves, grapes, and oak-foliage. Some painters, such as Crivelli and the Ferrarese, combine garlands of fruits and flowers in natural colours with others in *grisaille*, to imitate sculpture, in their decorative schemes.

The influence of Northern Europe in Italy was never so strong as that of her own classical past. It was felt in sculpture through the Pisani; in painting, perhaps its most direct effect was through the extended use of oil or varnish as a medium, learnt from the Flemings. (Oil had been used in certain ways by the Florentines of the fourteenth century, as we learn from Cennini's "Treatise on Painting" (*cf.* p. 32). The presence in Florence of a Flemish masterpiece like the *Adoration of the Shepherds* of Ugo van der Goes must have been an education in itself. Several pictures by Antonello da Messina have backgrounds of the Flemish

type, like his *St. Sebastian* at Bergamo, or the *St. Jerome* of the National Gallery. Travellers must have brought back wondrous tales of the Van Eycks, of Memling, Patinir, and Van der Weyden. All these Flemings were in advance, technically, of their Italian contemporaries as regards landscape; they allotted it a greater space, and treated it more naturalistically. Jehan van Eyck was but some twelve or fifteen years younger than Angelico. Giovanni Santi's "Chronica" mentions both him and Van der Weyden. One can imagine the impression that such a picture as the Ghent *Adoration of the Lamb*, or Hubert van Eyck's *Women at the Sepulchre*, with its marvellous sunrise and foliage, would have made on some Nature-loving visitor from the South—a merchant Arnolfini, maybe, from distant Lucca. There is nothing in Italy to compare with Flemish landscape-painting until the Venetians, but there is nothing Flemish to compare with the Venetians until the day of Rubens is reached.

Venice may have felt some influence from Germany—after the visits of Dürer she certainly did—but the colouring of the early German painters of the Cologne School, of Cranach, or of Dürer himself, was far inferior to that of the Italians. In black-and-white, Dürer's fine landscape-studies, with their vigorous mountain outlines, might compare with Venetian pen-sketches, though perhaps some will think them marred by a Teutonic tendency towards the fanciful and the grotesque. In water-colour, a sketch like the

famous *Weier Haus* at the British Museum, with all its careful observation and painting in the reflections and ripple in the water, and in the willows and rushes, shows yet a touch somewhat niggling, and better suited to the painter's architectural studies.

An interesting comparison of Dürer's treatment of mountain scenery with that of Masolino, Lionardo, and various Venetian painters, recently appeared in a German periodical. (*See* Bibliography, under Bredt.)

Any artistic influence derived from France, other than in sculpture and architecture, would have been through her famous illuminated manuscripts,

> quell' arte
> Che " alluminare " è chiamata in Parisi.
> "Purg." xi. 80, 81.

It is sometimes implied that the miniaturists, in France especially, were in advance of contemporary landscape-painters. An examination of such illuminations as those in the " Poems " of Christina of Pisa,[1] to take a typical, finely executed example, would seem to show the reverse. They are of French workmanship of the early fourteenth century, exquisitely delicate, and revealing a real sympathy with Nature, especially in the woodland scenes. But the treatment was purely conventional, in accordance with the miniaturists' method, and with no distance or perspective, as was necessitated by the limitations of their space. We find many of the same conventional symbols for

[1] Brit. Mus. (Harl. 4431). Christina married a Frenchman, Jean Chastel.

Nature as in the frescoes of the Primitives—the rounded hummocks of hills, the foliage in balls or clusters spotted with light, the gilt sun with its rays, the curly lines for clouds and waves. Quite in the style of the Primitives too are the neat little stone wells, with their neat little pipes, in one of which Narcissus (in a furred mantle !) beholds his reflection.

Many of the Italian painters, as is well known, were illuminators also, excelling in dainty miniature landscapes in flowers, and quaint beasts, on

> . . . the gilt page the good monks pen
> That is all smaller than a wren,
> Yet hath high towns, meteors, and men,
> And suns and spouting whales.

CHAPTER II

LANDSCAPE DEVELOPMENT. THE PRIMITIVES, 1250–1380 (DUCCIO, GIOTTO, AND THEIR FOLLOWERS)

WE have already touched in passing on the difference between medieval and modern ideals in landscape-painting, but must now consider them at rather more length.

There may be said to be three stages in the development of landscape-painting; the first, in which it is entirely subsidiary to the figure-subject; the second, in which it holds an equal place with it; the third, in which the landscape becomes itself the main object. The Italian Primitives, whom we are about to consider, never got beyond the first stage, their landscape was little more than a symbol or convention, the human story their absorbing interest. Narrative painting, indeed, must always be unfavourable to the true rendering of scenery. If you wish, for instance, to represent in small space one man speaking to another from a mountain, if the men are of any fair size, it stands to reason that the mountain cannot be represented in its natural proportions.

As art progressed, increasing space and attention were awarded to landscape backgrounds, and there was

a marked gain of distance and atmosphere. Yet the second stage was never really attained by the Florentines; Perugino indeed approached it, but it was reserved for Giorgione and his followers to make the landscape an absolutely integral part of the picture, into which its composition—outlines, colouring, effects of light and shade—entered as intimately as did the composition of the figures. The Venetians were less anxious to tell a story than to create a certain emotional atmosphere, hence the drawbacks incidental to narrative painting were removed. Even so, their landscapes were hardly landscapes in the modern sense, with the modern ideal of catching and expressing the inner spirit of a scene. The modern painter often sees colour first, and gradually works his colour arrangement into forms corresponding with fact, as is shown by some of Turner's unfinished paintings. When the external and internal vision can be accommodated, the result is a masterpiece; the earlier painters, who were unable to accomplish this, sacrificed the external. Some convention is necessary where there is not full mastery of one's art, but it is wonderful how little such sacrifice and such conventions impair the spirit of the scene. The evidence of the Italian Primitives and of the miniaturists is confirmed by that of the early Chinese painters (from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries), whose landscapes so curiously resemble theirs in many points. Those lately on exhibition in the British Museum, for example, show the same conventional, sugar-loaf mountains, with overhanging

Plate 2

Alinari

JOACHIM AT THE SHEEPFOLD

FROM THE FRESCO BY GIOTTO IN THE ARENA CHAPEL, PADUA. (*See p.* 25)

A typical example of rocks and trees as found in mosaics and early frescoes. The sheep and trees are here merely symbolic, and their true size is disregarded

tops and piled-up strata, the same careful flower and foliage-painting, the same silhouetting of trees against the sky, that we find in Italy, though their rendering of space, and water, and mist is distinctly better. We even recognise the familiar subjects of the Earthly Paradise and of a Hermit Saint with a lion, in Eastern dress. In some of these Chinese paintings, we do feel, in spite of their conventional landscape symbols, that such suggestions as those of winter, for example, or of wet mist, are marvellously conveyed.

In Italy, after the period of landscape symbols, we pass, with Piero de' Franceschi, into that of attempts at faithful reproduction of scenery (*cf.* p. 12). The management of light now becomes the painters' chief difficulty, and it has been suggested that men like Verrocchio and Lionardo, and, possibly, Titian himself, realising their inability to deal with full light, deliberately kept their light to its lower tones, whose full range they could master.

A certain conventionality in landscape persists even with the great Venetians. Ruskin has admitted that, in the case of Titian and Tintoretto, this "would be inexcusable, if the landscape became the principal subject instead of an accompaniment" ("Modern Painters," i. p. 83); Mr. Berenson has described their landscapes, as well as those of their predecessors, Bellini, Cima, and Giorgione, as more often "decorative backgrounds" than "direct studies from Nature." Bassano, he asserts—though probably many will not agree with him—was "the first modern landscape-

painter. . . . Without intending it (he) was the first Italian who tried to paint the country as it really is, and not arranged to look like scenery." ("Venetian Painters," pp. 69–70.)

It will be remembered that the present-day enthusiasm for landscape pure and simple is of comparatively recent growth; even Turner felt bound to introduce figures into his scenery to complete its interest.

With this introduction, we may turn to the study of the Primitives, to Duccio, Giotto, and their followers.

* * *

The most remarkable frescoes preceding the great revival of painting under Cavallini and other pioneers are those in the Lower Church of St. Benedict's Monastery at Subiaco. Here the rock-hewn walls were frescoed between 1200 and 1220 by a certain "Magister Conxolus," with scenes from the Life of the Saint, probably superseding more ancient work. Conxolus shows a distinct advance on his predecessors at San Clemente, Rome, but his representation of natural objects is merely that of the mosaics—short trees, with clustered foliage, and "cut rocks" in layers with scalloped edges, dotted over with small plants. In two scenes with water, there is a lively representation of trout and other fish.

The San Clemente frescoes were executed between the seventh and tenth centuries, several of them show rough ornamentation of birds, fruit, and foliage, or water with fish.

Cavallini's own treatment of Nature can only be judged from his mosaics, where it is of the usual mosaic type; it is in the new power shown in his figures, especially in fresco, that we realise his influence on Giotto. No landscape appears in the three or four works that criticism has still left to Cimabue.

DUCCIO DI BUONINSEGNA [*d.* 1319]

Midway in achievement between Cimabue and Giotto stands Duccio of Siena, who, as has been often pointed out, is really the last of Byzantine painters rather than the leader of a new School. In his great *Majestà* his treatment of Nature recalls the mosaics. (The chief part of this vast altar-piece is in the Opera del Duomo, Siena; some of its small panels were exhibited in the Grafton Galleries, 1911.) The rocks are scooped out, as it were, into niches or hollows to receive figures; water is of opaque green, with wavy lines. The foliage-clusters of the stunted trees have more pointed edges than Giotto's; several panels have orange-trees, the trees of the *Triumphal Entry* (one of the finest scenes) are not real palms. An effect of early morning light in the *Women at the Tomb*, which one eminent critic discovers, would seem to spring from imaginative enthusiasm, the rocks in this scene being of precisely the same colour as those in the preceding panel, the *Entombment*. One may here remark that an enthusiastic tendency to read into these early pictures what does not exist is perhaps as much of a snare to those of us who love them as is a

too-summary condemnation of their primitiveness to others; a second instance may be quoted—the "gardens and orchards" said by another writer to adorn Uccello's *Miracle of the Host* at Urbino, which in actual fact are represented by one pomegranate and one orange-tree!

GIOTTO DI BONDONE [1276–1336]

When we come to Giotto himself, we take an immense step forward, and the consciousness of it enables us to understand the reputation that Giotto has enjoyed from Dante's and his own day to our own—a reputation that remains undiminished, notwithstanding the fact that, one by one, works formerly venerated as his are now being assigned to his pupils. But it must be remembered that, as with Cavallini, so still more in the case of Giotto, Duccio, and their best followers, the advance made was in dealing with the human figure, in grouping, and in narrative power. Hence one has to write quite otherwise of the Arena Chapel frescoes, for example, or of Duccio's *Majestà*, when merely studying their landscape setting than if one were describing their noble figures, and one has to omit other frescoes by Giotto entirely, such as those in the Bardi and Peruzzi Chapels at Sta. Croce, Florence, together with the greater part of the work of such fascinating painters as Orcagna or Simone Martini. It will also be remembered that these Primitives of various Schools much resembled one another, so that some repetition in describing their treatment of

Nature is inevitable. They share with Giotto his sky of deep or bright blue; his typical trees, with their stumpy, slightly bent stems, and mop-heads of foliage in balls or clusters; his drab or yellowish rocks, suggesting sliced putty, or the pieces of a child's wooden puzzle, rounded or scalloped at the edges. These usually stone-coloured, rocky backgrounds are the only pretext for M. Michel's astounding statement that Giotto's "coloris est terne et monotone"! (*op. cit.* p. 3).

With such mere symbols for Nature, perfunctorily rendered, Giotto was as a rule content. "To reproduce the complicated forms of actual landscape," says Mr. de Sélincourt, "was wholly foreign to the purpose of an art whose theme was man; the problem . . . was to find for landscape . . . a method of representation which the mind might accept as an adequate suggestion of the truth. And here Giotto, though he made great progress, failed." ("Giotto," p. 195.) But where the Nature setting vitally affected the human story, he did treat it with care and truth; for example, it has been pointed out how lifelike is the little dog that greets Joachim in the *Sheepfold* fresco at Padua, whereas the hills, trees, and sheep that are not really concerned in the action are left as mere suggestions.

One feature in which Giotto made special progress was in his horizons, against which his principal figures, trees, or a line of low hills are set to advantage, contrasting favourably with the crowded or confused

backgrounds of his predecessors. The Gothic architecture that he introduces is, as one would expect, greatly in advance of any seen in painting before, though still lacking perspective; it is in advance also of his own Nature-painting.

Giotto's best open-air scenes are those of the Arena Chapel, Padua, painted in 1305–6; their authorship is undisputed, and they have suffered less than some others from restoration. Several little touches show a true feeling for Nature—the flowers, for instance, that spring up round the feet of the Risen Christ, and the ass that rubs its nose against the manger of the *Nativity*. Palm-trees appear in several scenes; in the *Baptism*, the water is a semi-transparent green sheet, rising in the middle, as often seen in the mosaics. (The frescoes in the choir are by a pupil.)

In the Upper Church at Assisi, several frescoes have the usual rocks and trees, and the birds listening to the words of the Saint were evidently carefully rendered, though now, alas! much damaged.

The influence of Duccio and Giotto on their followers was so strong as to determine the character of their art for the next generation. Giotto's more important followers were the Gaddi, "Giottino," Orcagna, and others at Florence; Giovanni da Milano, and Avanzo and Altichieri in North Italy. He had himself worked in various parts of Italy, and his influence was more extended than Duccio's. Some of Duccio's followers, such as the Lorenzetti brothers, came under

his spell. Duccio's own chief follower was Simone Martini, himself destined to exercise a marked influence on succeeding Sienese painters.

SIMONE MARTINI [(?) 1285–1344]

Simone seems to embody the innate and essential charm of Siena, and Mr. Roger Fry has well called him her "greatest artist" and the "dominating figure of the *Trecento*" in painting. One of the chief treasures of the Ambrosian Library at Milan is Petrarch's copy of Vergil, with his own notes, and miniatures by Simone; their trees, birds, sheep and so forth are those of the frescoes of this period on a small scale. Simone's triptych in Sant' Agostino, Siena, also shows the usual primitive rocks, and trees resembling green brushes, with a gilt background. Lippo Memmi (*d. circ.* 1357), who was Simone's brother-in-law and assistant, worked in his style.

Important work by the followers of both Duccio and Giotto is to be seen in the Lower Church, Assisi, and in the Campo Santo, Pisa; by the Giotteschi, in Sta. Croce and Sta. Maria Novella, Florence.

ALTICHIERI and AVANZO [*circa* 1330–1395]

At Verona, Altichieri and Avanzo, who may have profited by the vicinity of Giotto's Paduan frescoes, themselves frescoed the Cappella di San Giorgio in that city with vigorous scenes from the Life of Christ, and of St. George and other Saints, the backgrounds as usual, being quite inferior to the figures. Steep,

smooth rocks, of bright yellow, like sand-hills, are dotted over with grey-green trees and shrubs. Elaborate towered buildings are introduced in several scenes.

AMBROGIO LORENZETTI [*working* 1323–1348]

In the famous frescoes by Ambrogio Lorenzetti in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena, representing *Good and Bad Government*, landscape and country scenes play an important part. They are now, unfortunately, much damaged; in the *Bad Government*, one cannot make out much beyond some castles crowning a mountain ridge, but in the *Good Government* one sees a wide expanse of hills, in monotonous grey-brown, dotted over with stunted trees. These hills encircle a lake, and are varied by cultivated gardens, tree-lined roads, and red-roofed farmsteads. Men are seen hawking, sowing, ploughing, pruning, and threshing—all, of course, typifying the security of the open countryside when a city is well governed. Both frescoes have an iron-grey sky; the original colour has perhaps disappeared through damp.

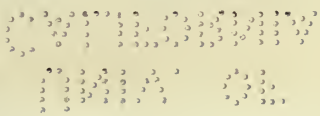
A large altar-piece (No. 77) by Ambrogio in the Gallery at Siena shows an unusually successful attempt at naturalism in one tree, and in the lightly arranged, graceful bunch of ox-eye daisies that St. Dorothea holds in her hand, and that fill her lap. Two landscape fragments in the same Gallery, in the manner of the Lorenzetti, are interesting as being landscapes pure and simple; one shows the sea,

Alinari

THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT

DETAIL FROM A PICTURE BY GENTILE DA FABRIANO IN THE ACCADEMIA, FLORENCE. (*See p.* 37)

One of the earliest attempts at rendering sunlight and shadow on hill-sides. Observe the careful details of fruit trees and hedges, and the fantastic architecture



another a lake, and there are rocks and trees of the Duccio type, with red-roofed houses and towers.

PIETRO LORENZETTI [*d.* 1348]

The elder brother, Pietro, judging from his *Sta. Umiltà* in the Academy, Florence, dated 1316, and his *Hermits* of the Uffizi, could only produce landscape of a childish description, with Noah's Ark animals—asses, stags, lions, a fox, and leopard. A *Hermits* fresco at Pisa is very similar, with no attempt at composition or perspective. Pietro excelled in the expression of vehement action and emotion, a trait which is also conspicuous in that unidentified follower of the Lorenzetti, perhaps Francesco Traini, the painter of the *Four Last Things* in the Campo Santo, Pisa. This painter of powerful imagination, and vigorous, if coarse, execution, who conceived the *motif* of the great Archangel shuddering at lost humanity's doom, was yet a lover of homely Nature, as we see from the rabbits, pheasant, and doe perched on his rocks, and the falcons and lapdog held by two youths and a lady. Fruit-trees shade his gay group representing *The World*, as they do in the somewhat similar scene in the Spanish Chapel, Sta. Maria Novella.

Another unknown Sienese, who shows the same intensity of feeling, frescoed the Upper Church at Subiaco, probably between 1360 and 1380, with scenes from the Passion. Some of them, such as the *Triumphal Entry*, recall Duccio. There is here a stately row of trees, which children climb to pluck

their branches, but for the most part the trees, rocks, and flowering plants are elementary in treatment, and the Gothic architecture lacking in perspective. One of the most powerful figures is a ghastly Death riding on a " pale horse " whose anatomy is vague, but whose wild straining forward is well suggested.

Good examples of Giottesque treatment of Nature are seen in the frescoes on the vaulting of the Spanish Chapel (perhaps by Andrea da Firenze), and in those by Gerini at San Francesco, Pisa, and in the Sacristy of Sta. Croce. It is disappointing that Orcagna, who possessed an inspiration and originality denied to the Gaddi, should have made no advance in this direction, if one may judge from his panels in the National Gallery.

It would be tedious to dwell upon the smaller works of the often unnamed Primitives of various Schools, all much resembling one another in landscape, which can be viewed in most Italian galleries—for example, in the Vatican, the Museo Civico at Pisa, the Brera, the Academies of Siena and Venice, and the Pinacoteca at Bologna. We may now consider the general treatment of Nature among the followers of Giotto and Duccio, reference being made to their more important works.

Of their delight in gay colouring and in the details of flowers and foliage we have already spoken ; they loved trim gardens, such as the quaint *Eden* of the Campo Santo, with its trees in a row, and neat trickles of rivers, one duly labelled " Euphrates," flowing from

under a low pink wall. Birds drink from a fountain, and a stag stands by it. The Garden of the Resurrection is a theme that specially appealed to these painters, as it did to Angelico later; it rouses the feeblest of them to some poetical feeling, and is almost invariably the best-rendered scene in any series. Gerini, Giovanni da Milano, and the painter of the vaulting of the Spanish Chapel fill their gardens with red and white rose-bushes, lilies, fruit-bearing shrubs and trees, firs, and palms, with brilliant peacocks and small birds.

All the more marked is the casual, monotonous treatment by these same painters of the stony-hued, wild mountains which they detested. This very dislike may, however, have lent point to the introduction of such rocks or hill-sides into certain scenes: in a *Nativity*, for instance, they would accentuate the poverty and desolation of that lowly Birth; in a *Flight into Egypt*, the dreariness of the exile; in such a scene as the *Thirsty Man drinking from the Miraculous Spring*, at Assisi, they would emphasise alike his need and the sanctity of Francis, who could supply it from such unpromising material. Nor must it be forgotten that these bare hill-sides are not infrequent even in fertile Italy, or that these rocky backgrounds, unnatural as they may at first appear, are not unlike the sun-baked, yellowish hummocks of earth to be seen in Tuscany, or its clay-hills, with their rain-fissures, notably those round Asciano. Their formation, however, as depicted in these frescoes, is unscientific, and

appears doubly so when clothed in the startling reds and pinks, greens or purples, with which their drab colour is sometimes varied. This style of rock-painting, as Ruskin [1] has pointed out, "remains entirely unchanged from Giotto's time to Ghirlandaio's"; the rocks "look as if hewn out with an adze." Hills and mountains are merely these rocks magnified. We gather this from their appearance, and also from the instructions given by Cennini, a pupil of Agnolo Gaddi, in his "Treatise on Painting." [2] He says: "If you wish to draw mountains well, so that they appear natural, procure some large stones, rocky and not polished, and draw from these, giving them lights and shades."

Cennini's eminently practical directions reveal to us other methods of the Giotteschi. He lays down many rules for Nature painting; he says, for instance, that tree-trunks should be black, and leaves dark green and dense, growing smaller towards the top of the tree, and touched with lighter green. "When you have painted the trees with black at the base, and also a few of the branches, let leaves shoot above, and then put the fruits, and scatter a few flowers and birds on the green grass." In mountain painting he recommends that darker colours should be used for distance, lighter ones for nearness. How well we know his *verdaccio* water, where the waves are "lightened with *bianco*"!

[1] "Modern Painters," iii. p. 254.

[2] "The Book of the Art of Cennino Cennini," translated by C. J. Herringham (1899), p. 78.

Nor are his fish unfamiliar: if they are to be varied, "let some have a row of spines of gold on their backs." "Fish and irrational animals generally have their dark parts upwards, and their light parts beneath."

The round-headed, short trees of the Primitives, like their hill-sides, have a considerable resemblance to trees that are familiar objects in the Italian landscape —the mulberries, for example, or trees used to prop the vines; these often stand in rows, formally dotted about, as in the pictures. There are several instances in which the peculiar charm of the olive, with the grey-green and silver of the upper and under sides of its long, pointed leaf, has been well rendered; we see it in the *Gethsemane* of the Lower Church, Assisi, in Gerini's *Ascension* at Pisa, but more especially in Simone Martini's *Annunciation* in the Uffizi. Here the Angel is wreathed with it, and the bough in his hand is exquisitely true to life and carries one's thoughts on through two centuries to the olive-shoots in Previtali's National Gallery *Madonna*. Groves of straight-stemmed trees, with sombre foliage, are also found, as in the *Peter Martyr* of the Spanish Chapel, Sta. Maria Novella.

The difficulty of treating foliage is often overcome by the device of diminishing the number of the leaves and increasing their size—a device employed by later painters also (*cf.* p. 232). We notice it in the treatment of the oak-tree in the *predella* of the Giottesque *St. Francis* of the Louvre (No. 1312; there still unaccountably ascribed to Giotto himself); its various

birds are carefully painted, like the falcon in P. Lorenzetti's *Stigmata* fresco of the Lower Church, Assisi. Taddeo Gaddi's stolid *Sposalizio* in Sta. Croce, Florence, is relieved by the little birds among the lemon-trees, and the Dove perched on St. Joseph's blossoming bough. Animals are painted with evident interest, though varying success; for instance, in the Spanish Chapel the black-and-white *Domini canes* are fairly lifelike, the sheep and wolves less so.

The Primitives occasionally attempt atmospheric effects, or a variation on their usual deep blue sky or gilt background, to the latter of which the Sienese clung for so long. For instance, in Taddeo Gaddi's *Angel and the Shepherds* at Sta. Croce, or in the *Resurrection* of the Spanish Chapel, the rocks are made to reflect the light from heaven. In another of the Spanish Chapel frescoes, *St. Peter walking on the Water*, we see a dark grey sky, flecked with white clouds, and full of wind, lowering above a sullen, deep green sea. In the much damaged *Job* series of the Campo Santo, Pisa, under the scene where Satan appears before God, there is a rather wonderful little glimpse of clear green sea, with low bare islands, and a spit of flat shore; in the dark, blue-grey sky floats one fleecy cloud, tinged with rose. The treatment is broad and simple, and the sense of water, space, and horizon is well given—in great contrast to the very rough figures. As a rule, water is one of the natural objects least successfully treated by these early painters.

Famous Buildings in Frescoes

Gothic architecture, as we have seen, was frequently introduced, and sometimes actual buildings. In the Campo Santo fresco representing the bringing of San Raniero's body to Pisa, there is an attempt to portray the Duomo, Baptistery, and Campanile; the last, probably owing to exigencies of space, does *not* lean! The Duomo and Campanile of Florence, slightly adapted, appear in the *Church Militant* fresco in the Spanish Chapel. The fair city of Siena is seen in several of the illuminated *tavolette della Biccherna* (*i.e.* covers of the public account-books, preserved in the Archivio of the Commune, Siena), the work of the Lorenzetti, Sano di Pietro, and others. Simone's fresco of Guidoriccio on horseback, in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena, shows the fortifications of Montemassi behind, with red roofs inside them. The imaginary façade with which the Giottesque painter of the *Mourning of St. Clare* (Upper Church, Assisi) has endowed San Damiano suggests that of the Duomo of Orvieto or Siena.

CHAPTER III

PRE-RENAISSANCE PAINTERS, 1360–1460 (GENTILE DA FABRIANO, PISANELLO, SASSETTA, SANO DI PIETRO, FRA ANGELICO, MASOLINO, PAOLO UCCELLO, ANDREA DEL CASTAGNO)

THE division of these earlier painters into different chapters is inevitably somewhat arbitrary; Gentile da Fabriano, for instance, and Taddeo di Bartolo are still Primitives, while, on the other hand, Angelico and Masolino might be classed as of the Early Renaissance. Nor is it possible to keep quite strictly within the century chosen, the lives of some painters in any division necessarily overlapping those in another.

GENTILE DA FABRIANO [(?) 1360–1427]

FROM russet-coloured, hill-encircled Fabriano, lying almost under the shadow of Monte Catria and its range that divides Umbria from the wilder Marches, came the first Umbrian painter, Gentile. His actual master was the very uninspiring and provincial Alegretto Nuzi, of his native town, but his true teacher was Siena. Sienese is the refined and gentle grace of his figures, Sienese his love of bright colour and

THE VISION OF ST. EUSTACE

FROM THE PICTURE BY VITTORE PISANO (PISANELLO) IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY. (*See p.* 40)

Pisanello was a great lover of animals. Their fur and feathers are here painted with minute care, also the small flowers, but composition and atmosphere are lacking

decorative detail, including the lavish use of gilt. Several of Gentile's charming Madonnas are set in flowery surroundings, as at Pisa, or Berlin; in the latter picture, tall lilies stand before her, and on either side, two straight trees, with small angels, bird-like, among their leaves. The grass is full of tiny, delicately painted flowers, as it is also in the panels of Saints in the Brera; the rocks and trees in these are of the usual Primitive type. The † Newhaven (U.S.A.) *Madonna* has roses and pomegranates behind her. The elaborate frame of the great *Adoration of the Magi* in the Academy, Florence, has its panels filled with exquisite flowers—violets, daisies, lilies, iris—a dainty device afterwards adopted by Giovanni di Paolo (*cf.* p. 75).

It is in this masterpiece of Gentile's, more especially in its *predella*, that we find not only his own most successful attempt at landscape, but the most successful of any with which we have yet met. Here, in the central *predella* panel, a *Flight into Egypt*, we see tree-bordered roads winding between grassy hills, with cultivated fields, and a towered town. The most noticeable feature is the effect of sunlight on the fields and hill-slopes on which it falls, and the colder colouring of the parts in shadow; this shows such close observation of Nature that one regrets all the more the embossed gold disc inserted for the sun itself. There are pomegranates in fruit, and other lovely details (*see* Plate iii). The next panel, the *Nativity*, has a star-sprinkled and moonlit sky, with a gleam

of light over the ridge of hills; here the trees are bare. The main picture is more conventional in its gilt sky, grey Giottesque rocks, and round, dark shrubs touched with gold. Here too are pomegranates in fruit, and a hedge of oak; birds and apes are relieved against the foliage, and a kneeling greyhound is introduced, as well as the more usual ox and ass, and cavalcade of horses.

Gentile's love of flowers and animals was, of course, carried further by his pupil Pisanello, who, with Jacopo Bellini, was a worthier successor than any that he found among the Umbrians, who merely copied his more obvious prettinesses; we have an example of their childish work in the Vatican *Nativity* landscape, with its great gilt sun. Ottaviano Nelli (*d.* 1444), a product of the School, is referred to on p. 108.

VITTORE PISANO (PISANELLO) [(?) 1385–1455]

Although Gentile's was the most direct and potent influence on Pisanello, he had also felt that of his predecessors at Verona, Altichieri and Avanzo, and of the Flemings. His animals were not slavishly copied from Gentile, but studied from Nature itself, as his beautiful sketches of them show. Many of these are preserved in the *Recueil Vallardi* of the Louvre, some have been reproduced in Mr. Hill's "Pisanello." The studies for the *St. Eustace* stag (National Gallery) and the greyhound in the *St. George* at Verona (Sta. Anastasia) are especially fine.

These two works, and our *St. George and St. Antony*, together with a damaged fresco at San Fermo, Verona, and the portraits in the Louvre and at Bergamo, comprise the short list of Pisanello's extant paintings. We know, however, that many others have been lost, which are referred to in various eulogistic contemporary poems in Latin of which Pisanello was the subject. Several of these poems may be read in Venturi, and Mr. Hill (*op. cit.* pp. 114–116) gives an abbreviated version of one by the Veronese Guarini. "With line and colour," he says, "you rival Nature's handiwork, to the wonder of all, whether it be that you depict birds or beasts, raging seas or quiet lakes; . . . you paint a night scene, . . . we behold the stars, the sphered moon, and the sunless darkness." The poet goes on to describe the winter and spring scenes painted by Pisanello; in the latter "the green meadows laugh with varied flowers." Was the painter pleased, we may wonder, with this praise of his literalness? Did he feel that he had succeeded in his aim? It may well have been so.

These complimentary poems, all concerned with his pictures, and the fact that he usually signs his medals "P. pictor," would seem to show that Pisanello and his contemporaries thought more of his painting than of the medals on which we might be inclined to rest his chief title to fame. The portraits at the Louvre and at Bergamo combine something of the medallist's skill in portraiture with the painter's love for miniature-like rendering of flowers, the profile heads being set

against a background of flowers and foliage, as the heads of St. George and the Princess are in the Sta. Anastasia fresco. The Louvre *Princess of the House of Este* (No. 1422 *bis*) is the earlier of the two; Mr. Hill suggests that she was probably Lionello's half-sister, Ginevra, as she wears a sprig of juniper. This ill-fated Princess was murdered at the age of twenty-one by her husband, Sigismondo Malatesta. Nothing could be more exquisite than the background of dark foliage, starred with pale mauve columbines and single pinks, rosy and creamy, and the "red admirals" and other butterflies. The *Lionello d'Este* at Bergamo (Morelli Collection, No. 17) has a background of crimson roses, touched with white, with their leaves and buds, all most delicately painted.

The *St. George and St. Antony* in the National Gallery probably dates from about the same time (1441); it has a grove of short, dark trees, a grey, rocky foreground sprinkled with small plants, and a clear blue sky.

The *Vision of St. Eustace*, also in the National Gallery, has no sky at all, and loses very much thereby. Its background is dark, and there is no sense of distance, or attempt to compose the incidents and over-crowded details. But, in spite of these defects, it is a delightful piece of work, especially if each detail be examined separately. In mid-forest, where the thickets are full of birds, and the grass enamelled with daisies, clover, and wind-flowers, confronting the eager hounds stands the golden-brown stag, with soft, wistful eyes, bearing

the Crucifix in its antlers; other denizens of the woodland, their fur and feathers exquisitely finished, are seen in the background—stags and hinds, a bear, a rabbit, and swans and herons by the water.

Both the Verona frescoes are much damaged: the *Annunciation* at San Fermo has some naturalistic flowers and pigeons; the horses and dogs in the *St. George* at Sta. Anastasia are specially good, and this fresco (the right-hand side of it) has an elaborate but conventional landscape. It dates from about 1438. Steep, perpendicular cliffs slope to the sea, on which is a boat in full sail; the rising ground is covered with trees, bushes, and ploughed fields, and is partly in sunlight. There is a city of fantastic architecture, and at its gate the startling addition of a gallows with swinging corpses!

A drawing by Pisanello for a landscape for the reverse of a medal still exists.[1] It is very formal; conical mountains surround a plain, with towers and pinnacles on their summits; there is a lake with a ship on it, and a church with many spires, faintly reminding one of Milan.

In conclusion, Pisanello was a real lover of Nature, and an accurate and observant painter of animals and flowers, but his composition is defective, and his landscapes still quite primitive. His influence was by no means confined to his immediate pupils, such as Stefano da Zevio of Verona (*b.* 1393) or Bono of Ferrara.

[1] Hill, *op. cit.* Plate 64.

Stefano's name, as the latest biographers of Foppa point out, has been used to designate work evidently by varying hands in one *bottega*. They also point out the similarity between his *Madonna in the Rosegarden* of the Museo, Verona, and works of the Cologne masters, such as Stephan Lochner. This *Rosegarden* is a lovely bit of decoration, like a page of an illuminated book, flat, with a gold background, not a study of Nature. (Mr. Zangwill has chosen it for the frontispiece of his "Italian Fantasies," 1910.) Perspective and sky are also lacking in Stefano's *Magi* of the Brera, where a hunting scene takes place amid steep, crowded, putty-like rocks and dark shrubs; a pink and violet bloom in the foreground. Bono was proud to sign himself, as he does on the National Gallery *St. Jerome*, "Pisani discipulus," and its grove of low, dark trees is very similar to that in Pisanello's *St. George and St. Antony*. The narrow valley, strewn with stones, the sharp edges of the crags against the sunset sky, the stag on the rocky knoll, and the lighting of the wayside shrine from within, all show observation, but the picture is marred by the unnatural shapes and gilding of some hills. Bono shows observation also in the skilful reflections in the water of his *St. Christopher*, in the Eremitani, Padua, where the ground sloping up to the horizon, and dotted with dark trees, and the foreshortened deer, recall his master.

Through his pupils' pupil, Vincenzo Foppa, Pisanello influenced the Milanese School as Giotto had done

before him, and, through Antonio da Murano, the School of the Vivarini. An *Adoration of the Magi* by Antonio at Berlin is very much in the style of Gentile and of Pisanello, alike in figures and landscape. The rival Venetian School had received Gentile da Fabriano's influence through another channel, Jacopo Bellini. Crivelli's debt to Pisanello is obvious, and Paolo Uccello also shows traces of his influence; in fact, throughout North Italy it was only superseded by that of the Paduan School under Squarcione.

* * *

Siena

We must now return to Siena, where a number of prolific, mediocre painters were carrying on the traditions of Simone Martini, as they continued to do all through the century. Among the earlier ones, we may note Bartolo di Fredi (*circa* 1330–1410) and his follower Taddeo di Bartolo (*circa* 1362–1422), neither of whom made any advance in the treatment of Nature, as their pictures in the Academy, Siena, and Taddeo's frescoes in the sacristy of San Francesco, Pisa, abundantly show. Bartolo introduces into his *Magi* (Academy, No. 104) some buildings in black and white striped marble, obviously suggested by the Duomo; Taddeo's architecture, as seen in the *Assumption* of the Palazzo Pubblico, is poor. The Angel in his *Annunciation* of the Academy holds an olive-bough, not at all so well treated as by Simone.

SASSETTA [1392–1450]

The only one of these painters with whom we need concern ourselves is Stefano di Giovanni, known as Sassetta, whom Mr. Langton Douglas and Mr. Berenson have done so much to make known to English readers. The scattered panels of the great † altarpiece painted by Sassetta for Borgo San Sepolcro have tree-bordered roads, spacious skies, and distant hills, sometimes framed in an arch. The *Triumph of St. Francis* panel shows, to quote Mr. Berenson, a "silvery-green sea growing lighter as it approaches the silvery-grey land," covered with small waves, under a radiant sky. But the most interesting panel from our special point of view is the *Meeting of St. Francis and the Lady Poverty*—a mystical incident related by Celano and Bonaventura as taking place near Siena. Outlined against an expanse of luminous sky rises unmistakably the beautiful peak of Monte Amiata, with its long, sloping ridge that one knows so well, crowning as it does the lovely Sienese *contado*. Sassetta sprinkles its lower slopes and the wide plain at its base with trees, and marks out cultivated fields. Several of the scenes have good Gothic architecture. Another instance in which Sassetta bids us look out of doors from within is the *Nativity of Our Lady*, in the Collegiata Church of Asciano, with its glimpse of a little walled garden, with flower-beds and a tree. The angels have crowns of roses and the whole picture is full of charming detail and lovely colour. The land-

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CHRIST AND THE MAGDALENE

FROM THE FRESCO BY FRA ANGELICO IN SAN MARCO, FLORENCE. (*See p.* 49)

One of Angelico's trim, peaceful gardens—grey dawn breaking behind the fresh green trees

scape at the bottom of the splendid Berlin *Assumption* is a later addition.

Sassetta exercised an influence on the next generation of Sienese painters rivalling that of Simone in an earlier day, his pupils Vecchietta and Sano di Pietro being themselves the masters of Matteo di Giovanni, Francesco di Giorgio, and others, while painters who were not his actual pupils, like Giovanni di Paolo, followed him closely.

With a brief reference to Vecchietta's indifferent frescoes in the Baptistery, Siena, introducing the Duomo and Campanile of Florence, and a church in black-and-white striped marbles, recalling Siena's own Duomo, we may pass on to Sano di Pietro.

SANO DI PIETRO [1406–1481]

The work of this fascinating painter, known as "the Sienese Fra Angelico," is well represented in his native city; its limitations are apparent, and no progress is shown in the treatment of landscape details. But flowers and leaves are exquisitely used in decoration in many of his pictures in the Pinacoteca—for instance, the branches of myrtle, or pink and white roses held by angels; their leafy crowns, or wreaths of blue cornflowers; the cluster of cherries or orange-bough in the Holy Child's hand. A special interest attaches to the *B. Virgin and Pope Calixtus* (No. 241), in which the Heavenly Patroness floats above her "divota e fedel città di Siena"; the graceful Mangia tower, the Palazzo Pubblico, Duomo, and

Campanile are all shown in their actual colouring, with two other towers, and a gate, in red, towards which a man is seen driving laden mules. Several of the book-covers of the *Biccherna*, as we have seen (*cf.* p. 35), painted by Sano or his followers, have views of Siena, one during an earthquake, another showing the interior of the Duomo. Sano's various pictures of the preaching of St. Bernardino represent either the unfinished façade of San Francesco, or the Palazzo Pubblico in the background. A *Flight into Egypt*, one of two small panels in the Vatican, shows rosy light on the horizon, in a deep blue sky, and there is a similar successful attempt at depicting a sunset in the Louvre *St. Jerome* (No. 1130), though its fruit-trees and rocks are still of the primitive type. This and its companion panel are enlivened by some absurd lions and camels, and scorpions and snakes lying on the ground near the Saint.

* * *

Florence

At Florence the followers of the Gaddi were as unprogressive as their Sienese contemporaries. One of them, Lorenzo Monaco (1370–1425), a Sienese by birth, and an illuminator, transmitted the influence of Siena, together with the traditions of Giotto and the miniaturists, to his pupil, Fra Giovanni da Fiesole, the Angelical Painter. In justice to Lorenzo, it must be said that a *Magi* drawing of his at Berlin shows the

sea-coast and sky in an extraordinarily vivid and sympathetic manner, while Mrs. Ady mentions some frescoes in Sta. Trinità, Florence, with "broken and varied scenery"; I do not recall these last.

FRA ANGELICO [1387–1455]

Fra Angelico has been too long considered as one who, wrapped in heavenly dreams, deliberately shut his eyes to the new teaching of the Renaissance; it is mainly to Mr. Langton Douglas that we owe a juster appreciation of him. His frescoes in the Chapel of Pope Nicholas V. in the Vatican, painted in later life, more especially show his study of the effects of light and shade, of anatomy, and of antiquity—the last displayed in the architecture and armour introduced. In landscape we must admit that he was less progressive, maintaining for the most part the Giottesque traditions as to rocks and trees, and often employing gilt backgrounds. Some of his skies, however, show an advance in spaciousness and limpidity, and in the distance of the horizon. Angelico was one of the first Italian painters to represent a real landscape from Nature—Lake Trasimene seen from Cortona—and in these Vatican frescoes we notice a broader and less artificial treatment, more like that of Masaccio, in the sweep of bare hills behind the *Martyrdom of St. Stephen*, and in the sense of distance between them and the nearer group of trees.

Angelico, like his pupil Benozzo after him, loved the straight-stemmed velvety-green cypress, the shadowy

ilex, or the rounded stone-pine, standing dark against the sky, sometimes overtopping a wall; we see them constantly in his pictures, as, for example, in the Uffizi *Sposalizio* (No. 1178), the Louvre *Martyrdom of Saints* (No. 1293), and several of the small panels at the Vatican and in the Academy, Florence. One of these latter (No. 237) has peach-trees flushed with fragile pink blossom, such as one associates with Valdarno in April; others have autumnal foliage, or orange-trees in fruit. The *Deposition* (No. 246) and several others show sunset light in the sky well rendered, some clouds are tinged with rose in the *predella* at Perugia, while a dark storm-cloud covers half the sky in one of the *St. Nicholas* series at the Vatican. As a rule, however, Angelico's skies are a clear or deep blue, with hard, white cloud-tufts, and no shadow. This same *St. Nicholas* has a very unreal sea, mossy-green, between curiously twisted red and yellow rocks. Although Angelico's hills are merely the exaggerated hummocks or blunted pyramids of the Primitives, an almost Umbrian effect of space is sometimes gained by the way in which they are made to recede to the horizon, as in the *Gethsemane*, the *Flight into Egypt*, and the *Crucifixion*, of the Academy, Florence.

But it is flowers and gardens with which one especially associates Fra Angelico—those crimson and white roses that his angels carry; the rose-hedge tangled with cherries and pomegranates, with one tall white lily pushing through it, behind his *Madonna* at

Bergamo;[1] the blossom-sprinkled grass of his several *Annunciation* pictures and of his *Paradise*. Sometimes these blossoms are merely conventional specks of colour, as in the National Gallery *Adoration of the Kings*, or are touched with gold, like the bushes of the *Paradise*, but often they are carefully studied, like the exquisite pinks, roses, and narcissus that bloom by the low paling of the Cortona *Annunciation*. One of the loveliest gardens is that of the *Noli Me Tangere* at San Marco, Florence, where the Magdalene kneels before the Risen Saviour, and the light breaks, fresh and pale, behind the orange-trees, palms, and cypresses. The *Paradise* has no cypress, needless to say, but palms and firs, pomegranates, orange-trees, narcissus, and roses. Angelico is also addicted to the more formal pleasances and neatly divided fields common to painters of his day.

Suggestions of real scenes are to be found in several of Angelico's pictures, though perhaps none so precise as that of Trasimene, with Castiglione del Lago, in the *predella* of his *Annunciation* at the Gesù, Cortona, to which we have already referred. Lake Trasimene would seem to have been an abiding memory with Angelico, from his early stay in high-lying Cortona, as we see it again in the *Crucifixion* and through the trees of the *Madonna di San Marco* (both in the Academy, Florence). It was also a favourite theme with Piero di Cosimo, and, of course, with Perugino. Nothing, indeed, can be more lovely in all its aspects than

[1] An exquisite, small, early work. (Lochis Gallery, No. 202.)

Trasimene, whether one sees it glowing like a turquoise in a golden ring of autumn rushes, or gleaming silver as its own olives in the moonlight, or dimly suggesting

> Old, unhappy, far-off things
> And battles long ago

as it lies, steely and livid, under a crimson sky of stormy sunset.

The town in the larger *Deposition* of the Academy, Florence (No. 161), may possibly be intended for Florence itself, and the landscape of the Louvre *Martyrdom* somewhat resembles the view from Settignano looking towards the hill of the *Incontro*.

MASOLINO [1383–*circa* 1435]

A PAINTER who stands in much the same transition state as Angelico, fundamentally medieval, and yet touched by the dawning Renaissance, is Masolino of Panicale. Scarcely anything is known of his supposed master, Starnina, but that Masolino's style developed considerably as life went on is evident from the advance shown in his Baptistery frescoes at Castiglione d'Olona, near Varese, from those painted seven years earlier in the choir of the adjacent church. Masolino probably learnt much from his own pupil, the short-lived Masaccio, as Angelico did also. Masaccio's share in the decoration of the Brancacci Chapel, in the Church of the Carmine at Florence, begun about 1424, probably includes the landscape portions that have won such well-deserved praise; both they and the

mountain background of the *Crucifixion*, in San Clemente, Rome, ascribed to Masolino, are finer than anything at Castiglione d'Olona. There is, however, in the Castiglione frescoes, a real attempt to depict Nature—the river with its dark pine woods retreating to the horizon, between ranges of hills, and the mountains, especially those in the *Burial of St. John Baptist*, finer and of more realistic formation than any we have yet seen. Yet the whole series, even with the very expressive figures, and the introduction of a Renaissance *loggia* with a frieze of *putti*, leaves a quaint and archaic impression, compared with Masaccio, or even with Angelico's Vatican frescoes. The Cardinal's Palace at Castiglione has another mountain fresco by Masolino, interesting from the fact that it is landscape only, apparently painted for the love of it. Mr. Berenson has described it as a " vast landscape . . . a sort of panorama of the Alps, with a broad torrent swiftly rushing down to the plain." [1] One is perhaps rather more disappointed with the fresco than it deserves after having read the glowing description, and the " broad torrent " resolves itself into a broad green valley, with a town planted in the middle of it! The fresco now covers one wall only; it may have run originally as a frieze all round the room. Another room is frescoed with fruit-trees standing singly, and with bunches of flowers, resembling some decorations in the Castello, Milan.

Masolino introduces distant mountains into his

[1] " Study and Criticism of Italian Art," 2nd series, pp. 77–78.

Founding of Sta. Maria Maggiore in the Museo, Naples, and into his frescoes of *St. Catherine* and the *Crucifixion* at San Clemente, Rome. These last are much damaged, but even so are very fine. The *Crucifixion* has a well-composed background, under a wide sweep of sky; ranges of hills slope in a series of bays to the sea, which stretches right across the horizon. Through an opening in the *Preaching of St. Catherine* a ridge of grey mountains is seen, with a tower on one summit, and rolling white clouds above; the formation of the mountains in both frescoes is studied from Nature.

Two other painters of this period who outlived Masaccio are yet so much more medieval, or, one might say, transitional, than he that they may be included in this chapter—Paolo Uccello and Andrea del Castagno.

PAOLO UCCELLO [1397–1475]

Paolo Doni, surnamed Uccello, was, as is well known, a devoted student of the new science of perspective, to which all else in his work is sacrificed. He was fain to be a realist, and traces of realism are seen in his painting of Nature. He lacks atmosphere, however, and hardly advances beyond Giotto in the rocks of his frescoes in the Chiostro Verde at Sta. Maria Novella, Florence, or in the putty-like fields of his great battle-piece, now divided between the Uffizi, the Louvre, and the National Gallery. The original colour has perhaps been lost from his now iron-grey skies, as seen also in the *Miracle of the Host*, at Urbino (*cf.* p. 24), with a crescent moon; here are gleams of light on the

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THE TRIBUTE MONEY

FROM THE FRESCO BY MASACCIO IN THE CARMINE CHURCH, FLORENCE. (*See p.* 56)

The damaged state of this famous fresco makes reproduction difficult, but it is a landmark in the history of mountain-painting, their formation being rendered with striking truth

long stretch of brown and green hills, with red-roofed houses and churches such as Lorenzetti and Pesellino also love to introduce. The trees in the sadly damaged Chiostro Verde frescoes are carefully drawn, especially the figs, chestnuts, and pomegranates of the *Adam and Eve;* there are also palms and vines, and naturalistic goats and sheep reminding one of Uccello's now lost animal studies. Some trees in the Uffizi battlepiece are also well rendered, while in our own fragment we have the superbly decorative hedge, with crimson roses and golden globes of fruit glowing like lamps in the dark foliage.

In the University Galleries at Oxford a *Midnight Hunt*, with remarkably animated figures of hunters, hounds, and horses, has for background a dense grove of trees, seen in dim light. Their leaves, and the way in which they recede into the distance, are well managed.

ANDREA DEL CASTAGNO [1390–1457]

Andrea del Castagno carried realism further than Uccello, and some of his figures become ugly and brutal. His little *Crucifixion*, however, in the National Gallery, deserves our attention as one of the earliest attempts to depict the sky as other than flat, and as the source of light. Its clouded light here, and the outlines of the low, dark hills beneath it, are truthfully and effectively rendered.

The desire for truthful rendering of Nature, with a quickened interest in her varied manifestations, reveals

itself more and more as we approach the Renaissance; it was only second to the revived interest in man. Both, as has been often pointed out, had been to some extent kept under during the earlier Middle Ages by the dominance of the Church, although we have striven to show that absorption in religious themes did not exclude the painters' expression, naive as it often was, of their love of Nature in setting them forth. Now, however, the painters, with varying degrees of success but the same intent, begin to give more space and more attention to their landscapes and skies, abandoning conventional symbols, and learning to study and to depict Nature even as they were studying and depicting the human body.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY RENAISSANCE PAINTERS IN TUSCANY: 1400–1500

I. Florence

MASACCIO, LIPPO LIPPI, PESELLINO, BENOZZO GOZZOLI, BALDOVINETTI, THE POLLAIUOLI, VERROCCHIO

MASACCIO [1401–1428]

THE rare genius of Masaccio—that Giotto of the early fourteenth century—seems to have anticipated the Renaissance and to have placed him at least a generation ahead of his actual contemporaries; its untimely snuffing-out by death is probably one of the greatest losses that Art has ever sustained. Obscurity veils Masaccio's brief life; its supreme achievement, and one especially interesting from our present point of view, was his share in the decoration of the Brancacci Chapel, of which we have already spoken. The influence of these frescoes on succeeding painters, including Raffaelle and Michelangelo, was incalculable. The *Tribute Money* and *St. Peter Baptising* have both landscape backgrounds, while the *Adam and Eve* has a beautiful apple-tree. All the trees have well-shaped trunks, some are leafless; the water in the *Baptism* is blue and transparent. But the mountains, especially in the

Tribute Money, are the most striking feature; they are remarkably well shaped, and their ridges, with the clouds and shadows resting upon them, are wonderfully true to Nature; the colour is grey. Those in the *St. Peter Baptising* rank only second to them. Unfortunately the backgrounds are considerably damaged, but, so far as one can see, they show an advance towards naturalism only paralleled by that of the marvellous groups of figures which they frame. Ruskin's enthusiasm is in this instance surely justified; he describes these frescoes as "far in advance of all other work I have seen of the period, in expression of the rounded contours and large slopes of hills, and the association of their summits with the clouds." [1] Elsewhere he alludes to Masaccio's "complete recognition of the laws of aqueous sculpture." [2]

We can also share in Ruskin's surprise that such landscapes had so little influence on succeeding Florentine painters, though we can scarcely echo his dictum that "Florentine art could not produce landscape"! [3] Lippo, for instance, as he lounged about the Carmine watching the scarcely older "Hulking Tom" at work, gained new ideas for figure-painting, such as he afterwards carried out in his masterpieces at Prato and Spoleto, rather than new ideas for landscape. The main concern of the Pollaiuoli was mastery of anatomy; of Botticelli and

[1] "Modern Painters," vol. iii. p. 334.
[2] *Id.* vol. iv. p. 316.
[3] *Id.* vol. v. p. 238.

Filippino, the grace of line and movement, the rendering of spiritual emotion. Consequently it may be doubted whether Florentine landscape-painting as a whole made much advance after Masaccio, until touched by the influence of the Umbrians and Venetians. It is too academic, too map-like, often lacking in open-air feeling, or in any great range of colouring. Exceptions, of course, there are, such as several landscapes by Piero di Cosimo, Fra Bartolommeo, Filippino, and, at his best, Ghirlandaio, while even those liable to the above criticisms are characterised by observation, refinement, and that severe Florentine charm, Carducci's *austera dolcezza*. These characteristics and limitations of Florentine Nature-painting in general should be borne in mind when considering the works of the individual painters.

FRA FILIPPO LIPPI [1406–1463]

Masaccio's early death left Angelico, Uccello, and Lippo the foremost painters in Florence, to be closely followed by the Pollaiuolo group, and the ingenuous Benozzo Gozzoli. Of Lippo's troubled and romantic career we need not here speak. His actual master was Lorenzo Monaco, and in landscape neither he nor his pupil Pesellino ever got beyond Lorenzo's other follower, Angelico, and his pupil, the aforesaid Benozzo.

Lippo's favourite background is one of trees and rocks, the latter piled in slate-like or paving-stone slabs, sometimes suggesting Stonehenge. In colour

they are hard and unpleasing, a combination of greens and browns; rocky paths, or streams, sometimes wind among them. When exalted into mountains, they give a wild and barren impression, as in the *Preaching of St. John in the Desert* and *Death of St. Jerome* at Prato, and *Death of the B. Virgin* at Spoleto. Lippo's trees, which Pesellino borrowed, are dark and tufted, of the fir type, as we see them in his National Gallery *Sacra Conversazione*. He loved one of Nature's loveliest effects—the crowded slender stems of the forest-glade, with light filtering through them on to the grass below. This is the most attractive feature in the background of his Berlin *Nativity* and of the similar, though inferior, *Nativity* of the Academy, Florence (No. 79); it also occurs in the charming *Meeting of the Holy Children* at Berlin, a work long ascribed to Lippo, but now, like the Louvre *Nativity* and Florence *St. Jerome*, considered a school-piece. The river winding between distant hills, such as we see in this Louvre picture (No. 1343), and in the Munich and Uffizi *Madonnas*, is characteristic of Florentine landscapes of this period, those of the Pollaiuoli, for example; it suggests the Arno, winding towards the Pisan mountains, and is perhaps a precursor of those mysterious hill-shadowed waters, loved of Lionardo. In the Uffizi *Madonna* (No. 1307) the arid fields of the foreground are formally mapped out, but a hint of evening glamour is given by the pale blue sky, with its warm clouds, over the low hills of the distance.

Lippo's love of flowers is self-evident, of lilies

especially; they embower alike his early *Coronation of Our Lady* in the Academy, Florence, and his latest work of all, the same scene, in the Duomo at Spoleto, where roses bloom too, as in the Berlin *Nativity*. Like Angelico, Lippo sprinkles his grass with flowers, such as the daisies and convolvulus of a Florence *Nativity* (Academy, No. 82), with its flowering myrtle by the broken wall. The beautiful *Annunciation* belonging to Miss Herz (shown in the Rome Exhibition, 1911) has trees and an enclosed garden seen through a round arch; beyond a low parapet, hills rise against a deep blue sky; the Angel wears a flat crown of white and pink roses. Another † *Annunciation*, an early work at Munich, would seem to have several points in common with the last; firs are seen beyond the enclosed garden, the rose-crowned Angel has wings of peacock's feathers, and the Renaissance *loggia*, with its rounded arches, is very fine. The same may be said of much of the architecture introduced into the Prato and Spoleto frescoes, notably the portico of yet another *Annunciation*, that at Spoleto; here too the landscape is less formal than usual, the rising ground, with its trees, possibly suggesting the steep ascent to that city. Sir F. Cook's *tondo* of the *Magi* has typical rocks, trees, and flowery grass, with a naturalistic peacock and pheasant.

FRANCESCO PESELLINO [1422–1457]

Peselino, noted for his animal painting, may perhaps have been responsible for the owl of the *St. Jerome* and the lizards of the Louvre *Nativity;* they are carefully

and naturalistically depicted. The rocks in his Louvre *St. Francis* (No. 1414) are entirely Giottesque, running as it were in parallel grooves; there are jagged and solid clouds in the dark blue sky, but the distant hills and water are good. A charming coloured sketch, preserved in the Louvre, and reproduced in Mr. Berenson's "Drawings of the Florentine Painters," depicts the *Nativity*, with a peacock roosting on the shed, and a glimpse of water and trees behind, among low hills. Unreal rocks and stiff trees, spiky or mop-headed, are seen in the Bergamo *Story of Griselda* and *St. Jerome*; a lily and a crimson rose are thrust refreshingly, if inappropriately, in a corner of the foreground of the latter. This *St. Jerome* may, however, be merely a copy by Pierfrancesco Fiorentino, to whom Mr. Berenson also assigns the Petrarcan *Triumphs* of the Academy, Siena (Nos. 149–152). Landscape occupies much space in these, and is full of elaborate detail—bands of dark green water in a plain dotted with trees; red, grey, and green hills, and red-roofed houses and churches—the whole effect being quite artificial. The *Trinità* of the National Gallery, which was only begun by Pesellino, and finished by other hands, recalls Lippo in its river winding between low hills and dark woods, and its mass of sombre foliage in the foreground, picked out with gold.

BENOZZO GOZZOLI [1420–1497]

Benozzo Gozzoli delighted in landscape, and gave it a large share in his frescoes, but it is rather a con-

Alinari

LORENZO DE' MEDICI AS ONE OF THE MAGI

DETAIL FROM A FRESCO BY BENOZZO GOZZOLI IN THE RICCARDI PALACE CHAPEL, FLORENCE. (*See p.* 61)

One of a series of brightly coloured scenes, full of incident. The Giottesque rocks still persist, with Benozzo's conventional trees among them

glomeration of landscape details, picturesque in themselves—such as his stone-pines, cypresses, and vine-trellises—than landscape in any true sense. This is felt even in the frescoes of the Riccardi Palace, Florence, where he is at his best, his fertile invention and *joie de vivre* finding delightful expression through his industrious brush. If it were not for the classical architecture introduced, and for the surprising skill with which figures in action or portraits are depicted, we might have found it hard to realise that Benozzo was a Renaissance painter. He is much akin to the Umbrians, who admired and copied him, though less spiritual than some of them or than his own master, Angelico.

Benozzo owed much to Ghiberti, whose reliefs are recalled by the painter's favourite groves of fir-trees, and his better representations of architecture—arches, cloisters, and porticoes—not by such jumbles as his *Babilonia* in the Campo Santo, Pisa, or the *Civitas Aretii* in San Francesco, Montefalco. *Babilonia* contains, among other buildings, the Palazzo Vecchio and Strozzi Palace from Florence, the Column of Trajan and Pyramid of Cestius from Rome; the Bargello and the Badia of Florence are seen in the *Meeting of SS. Augustine and Ambrose* in Sant' Agostino, San Gimignano. The Palazzo Vecchio appears again in the *Civitas Aretii*, and is suggested in the Palace of St. Francis's dream, in the same Montefalco series. The Castle of Vincigliata is introduced in part of the Riccardi Palace background, which is obviously intended for the hilly country round Florence, with its

farms and villas, and groups of trees on rocky slopes; paths wind among them, strewn with pebbles, and little streams are crossed by bridges. The rocks are of the Giottesque type, as in Benozzo's other frescoes and easel pictures. Besides the tall stone-pines and cypresses, often standing in a row behind the figures, or, as at Pisa, forming a screen through which the landscape is seen, we find orange and pomegranate trees, and some of the short, round-headed Giottesque type, together with others that can only be described as of the Noah's Ark variety. Benozzo's flowers are painted with loving care; such are the roses, lilies, and flowering myrtle that fill the empty tomb in the Vatican *Madonna and St. Thomas*, the rose-hedges in the Riccardi Palace and in St. Augustine's garden at San Gimignano, and the daisies and lilies of the valley of our National Gallery *Madonna with Saints and Angels*, with its pair of finches. Of other birds, we may mention the splendid peacocks of the Riccardi frescoes, whose plumage is repeated in the angels' wings; the other peacock, with tail outspread, at Pisa; and the very lifelike pheasant, also at Pisa, flying towards the hen pheasant and her young. No less lifelike are the varied birds in the *Sermon to the Birds* at Montefalco, a scene also interesting from its accurate representation of the position of that little town, with Monte Subasio across the valley.

The Campo Santo frescoes give a vivid picture of Tuscan country life, in the *Vintage* especially; their distances, of hills dotted with little towns, and water

or valleys at their base, of which the *Joseph in the Pit* is a good example, are more natural and spacious than any of the Riccardi backgrounds, although, as a whole, these later frescoes show a falling-off. They have also suffered much from fading and peeling, whereas the bright colours in which Benozzo delighted are remarkably well preserved in the Riccardi. Here too we have country scenes, hunting and herdsmen with sheep and cattle, while in one corner we slip imperceptibly into a lovely, if formal, Paradise. One of Benozzo's most attractive landscape glimpses is the pleasant wooded shore on which St. Augustine lands (San Gimignano); another is that of the *Annunciation* at Pisa (Campo Santo), seen through two Gothic windows and an arch, with roses trailing over the steps below the figures. His clouds and skies are generally rather hard, but sometimes he gives a rosy glow on the horizon well, notably in the *Jacob and Esau* at Pisa. The landscape of the National Gallery *Rape of Helen* is not a fair one by which to judge Benozzo; the water with its waves, and the receding hills, presented difficulties which he could not overcome, and the brown and green pyramidal rocks, with their toy towns and trees, leave a quite childish, naive impression.

ALESSIO BALDOVINETTI [1425–1499]

A GREAT advance towards realism in landscape-painting was made by Baldovinetti and the Pollaiuoli, with their conscientious transcription of Nature, although the immediate result was less superficially attractive than

Benozzo's. The sense of laboured accuracy that pervades their work is suggested in Vasari's words about Baldovinetti, little as the writer himself intended it (ii. 595, in the Florentine edition of 1878): "Di tutte le minuzie," he says, "che la madre natura sa fare, si sforzò d'essere imitatore." "Details" and "imitation" are exactly what we see in the landscape of his *Nativity* in the Sma. Annunziata, Florence, and Vasari counted them unto him for righteousness, enumerating with gusto the straws of its thatch, its worn stones, and shaded ivy-leaves. We, on the other hand, while praising it as an honest and painstaking effort to copy from life, can but contrast it ruefully with the broad treatment and facile mastery of landscape shown in the frescoes of Andrea del Sarto that adjoin it. Alessio depicted the same scene, the Valdarno, with its river and hills, in his Louvre *Madonna and Child* (No. 1300A), while in his *Baptism* of the Academy, Florence, a river flows between receding hills, its scalloped banks strewn with rounded pebbles. Alessio was fond of trees; a large tree is set in the foreground of the *Nativity*, and cypresses, palms, and pomegranates stand in a row behind the *Annunciation* and *Madonna and Saints* of the Uffizi (Nos. 56 and 60); the former has a stiff hedge of white roses; the latter, small flowers and leaves in the grass. A row of trees in fresco overtops the panel of the *Annunciation* at San Miniato. This feature Alessio may have borrowed from Fra Angelico, from whom, more than from Uccello, he probably derived his love of land-

scape. "That inheritance," says Mr. Langton Douglas, "Baldovinetti himself enriched greatly before he passed it on to Verrocchio, and Verrocchio again increased it before he confided it to Lionardo da Vinci. The same kind of influence . . . can be traced through Benozzo Gozzoli—who himself, though full of love for landscape, added but little to what he received "—to the Umbrians ("Fra Angelico," pp. 126–7).

THE POLLAIUOLI: ANTONIO [1429–1498] PIERO [1443–1496]

Alessio's influence on Verrocchio and the Pollaiuoli, the younger of whom, Piero, was his pupil, makes his innovations in landscape important. The advance that he made in effects of distance and perspective was carried on by his pupils, while Verrocchio lent it a new charm of atmosphere and subtly subdued lights, presaging Lionardo. The Pollaiuoli also produced map-like views of the Valdarno, as in Antonio's *St. Sebastian* of the National Gallery, and Piero's *Annunciation* at Berlin. In the latter the view of the City of Florence and its valley is seen through two rounded windows at the end of a fine Renaissance hall. The painter's passion for anatomical study is as much obtruded in the *St. Sebastian* as Uccello's for perspective is in the Chiostro Verde of Sta. Maria Novella. A very similar background is seen in the *Archangel and Tobit* at Turin, and in the *Tobit* picture of the National Gallery, probably by Botticini (*cf.* p. 146). The rounded pebbles with which it is strewn have each a

ridiculous ring of grass sprouting from them. Antonio's *Apollo and Daphne* in the National Gallery has again much the same view, on a small scale, with two very dark laurels for Daphne's arms.

VERROCCHIO [1435–1488]

Andrea di Cione, better known as Verrocchio, has lately acquired fresh fame through the ascription to him by recent criticism of such works as the radiant *Madonna and Child Angels* of the National Gallery, as well as the Uffizi *Annunciation*, with which his great pupil Lionardo was long credited. (In both of these he may have been assisted by Lorenzo di Credi and others.) The *Baptism* of the Florence Academy still remains Verrocchio's greatest achievement in painting (he was, of course, a sculptor and goldsmith too). Its clear, light sky and receding hills, with water, are seen again in the *Annunciation* and National Gallery picture. The effect of distance in the *Baptism* is wonderfully fine, the near stream also, and the suggestion of wildness in the scenery, though the rocks and palm-tree appear artificial.

A *Madonna and Child* at Berlin has a background of grassy slopes and trees, with hills, one of which is built up in spirals as in Jacopo Bellini. The colouring of the National Gallery *Madonna*, with its landscape of the Valdarno type, is bright and warm—a great contrast to the twilight tones of the *Annunciation*. Here dark trees stand with magical effect against the pearly sky; still waters sleep at a mountain's foot;

the starry flowers in the grass and the Angel's lily breathe out sweetness into the cool and quiet air.

The National Gallery possesses a beautiful little landscape, of unknown authorship, but evidently by some follower of Verrocchio, the *Love and Chastity*. Its rich, embrowned greens of trees and grass suggest autumn; its details are daintily rendered—oak-foliage, clover and anemones, water showing reflections, with swans upon it.

II. Two Umbro-Florentines

Piero dei Franceschi and Luca Signorelli

PIERO DEI FRANCESCHI [(?) 1416–1492]

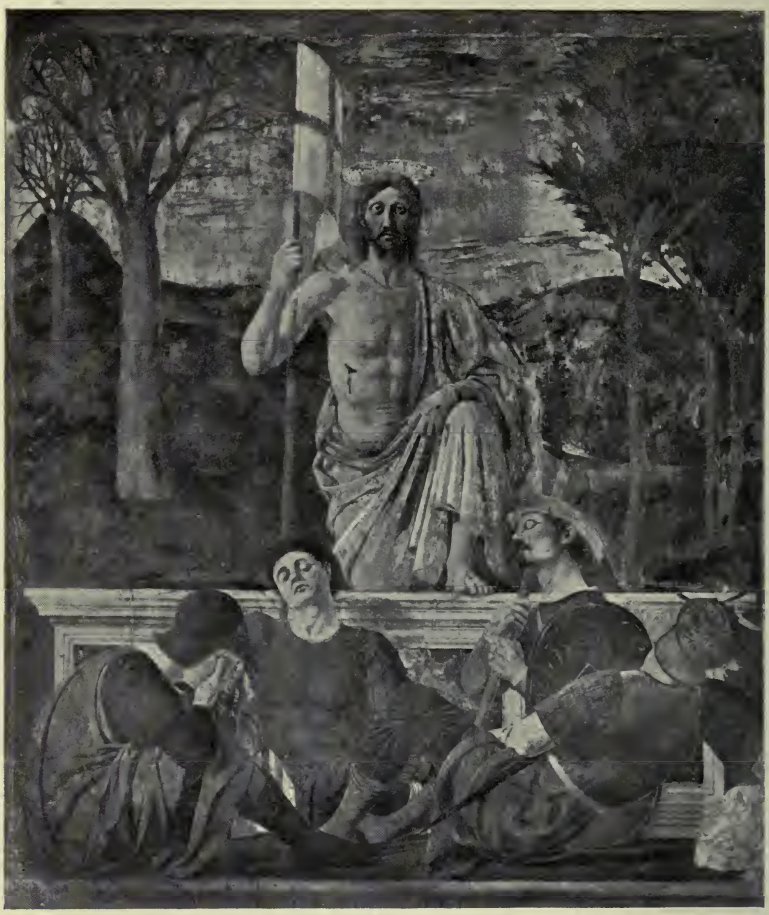
Meantime a great innovator in landscape had arisen outside Florence, although, as we shall see, Florentine in his training and aims.

Piero dei Franceschi was, like Uccello, an uncompromising realist, but his greater knowledge of technique and powers of execution make him seem much less archaic. He had so mastered problems of perspective that they no longer obtrude in his work, while in landscape and portraiture alike he stands out as an innovator and pioneer. His love of architecture is seen in his picture at Urbino—a study of Renaissance buildings without any figure-subject—and admirable Renaissance architecture appears in several of his paintings, such as the beautiful *loggia* in the Perugia *Annunciation* (in the lunette, the only part of the picture which is by Piero), or the façade of coloured marbles in one of

the frescoes at San Francesco, Arezzo. Piero's landscapes have probably lost much charm through loss of colour, which makes a certain pale drab hue disagreeably prominent, but they are evidently studied direct from Nature. Never before was such carefully rendered foliage, or such reflections in water, as those of the National Gallery *Baptism;* never such a wide panorama of mountains, range upon range, as in the Uffizi portraits of the Duke and Duchess of Urbino; never such effects of light as in the *Vision of Constantine* at Arezzo or the *Resurrection* at Borgo San Sepolcro. Never before were such clear skies, of palest blue, with light clouds, suggesting a fresh spring or autumn day.

Piero was a native of Borgo San Sepolcro, a little town between Gubbio and Arezzo, in a high-lying valley of the Central Apennines, whose gaunt slopes are edged with oak-thickets, that in May are loud with nightingales, and hem in fertile corn-lands. He was thus an Umbrian by birth, but entirely Florentine in his scientific painting, and in the influences under which he came, to wit, his master Domenico Veneziano, experimenter in the oil-medium, Uccello, and Andrea del Castagno. Florentine too is the austerity of his landscape. He has, however, the typical Umbrian gift of " space-composition " (*cf.* p. 104), as we see in his earliest surviving fresco, the *Sigismondo Malatesta before his Patron Saint* at Rimini, and the portraits of Duke Federigo and his Duchess in the Uffizi. The mountains and hills here, to which we have referred, rising from the plain in the nearer foreground, give a

Plate 8



Alinari

THE RESURRECTION

FROM THE PICTURE BY PIERO DEI FRANCESCHI IN THE MUNICIPIO, BORGO SAN SEPOLCRO. (*See p.* 70)

Piero was a pioneer in realistic treatment of Nature, as his trees show. The ridges of hills stand out boldly against the cold light of early morning

very real effect of distance, and represent the actual view from Urbino, especially in the *trionfo* of the Duchess, the lake or broad river alone being added from imagination. The short, dark trees with which we are so familiar are dotted over the plain, and all details are carefully given. Piero's hills have been unkindly described by one critic as "molehills," and they are perhaps rather low and lumpy. We see them again in the *St. Jerome* of the Academy, Venice (Room xvii. No. 47), under the usual pale blue sky. There is a white town with towers by a river, but the most noteworthy feature is the fine tree, of the ilex type, treated with the same care as the trees in the *Baptism*. Both this last and our *Nativity* have somewhat too map-like backgrounds, but they are of a noble sincerity, as is also the small panel of the *Flagellation* in the sacristy of the Duomo at Urbino. In this, some dark trees are seen over a wall, against Piero's typical sky; the workmanship of the whole is most delicate. Piero seems to have loved birds, like Uccello, introducing a magpie and finches into the *Nativity*, where the ass, however, is scarcely realistic. Better are the two wolfhounds painted with Sigismondo Malatesta.

Piero's most extensive work was the series of frescoes depicting the *Invention of the Holy Cross* in San Francesco, Arezzo. They were painted between 1452 and 1466, but are much damaged. (They were being "restored" when I saw them, so the damage has probably been redoubled.) They have glimpses of

landscape, such as hills against the sky, with a walled medieval town, and the foliage of some trees is again carefully rendered, as in the *Cross restored by Heraclius*. But no work of Piero's is so impressive as that still happily possessed by his native town, the austere, majestic *Resurrection*, in its Municipio. The light of dawn, flushing the clouds, steals into the cold night-sky of early spring, against which bleak hills are set, with distant trees standing like sentinels on their ridge; two nearer trees are bare and desolate, others show leaf. In the foreground, the Victor, grave with the sternness of the conflict just past, *Rex tremendae maiestatis*, rises from the sepulchre. This landscape setting has none of the tender poetry of Angelico's Easter garden, none of the exuberance of Bazzi's sunrise and trees in their young foliage of vivid yellow-green, but it is in wonderful accord with the central Figure, and to some at any rate Piero's representation of the Resurrection will seem unequalled by any in Italian painting.

MELOZZO DA FORLÌ [1438–1494]

Piero's two chief pupils were Luca Signorelli and Melozzo da Forlì. The latter, born some twenty years after his master, but dying in the same year that he did, is best known through his music-making angels in St. Peter's; one lovely landscape, however, must be mentioned, that of his *St. Sebastian* in the Palazzo Corsini, Rome. Its effect of distance, and its wide

expanse of sky, are Umbrian, but almost Japanese is its delicate harmony of soft grey and rose—the clouds and the still lake reflecting sunset light—and the one tall, dark tree against the sky. Other trees are scattered among grass-covered rocks. It is a most poetical rendering of twilight, and "waters stilled at even," and makes one long for more such work from Melozzo's brush.

LUCA SIGNORELLI [1441–1523]

We must here slightly advance chronology to speak of Luca Signorelli, who, born at Cortona just within the Umbrian border, was even more definitely Florentine in his genius and aims than Piero, whose influence upon him was supplemented by that of Antonio Pollaiuolo and Donatello. His scientific study of the nude rendered him the greatest figure-painter of the day; his truly stupendous frescoes at Orvieto reveal him as a seer. Probably he was most drawn to landscape during the brief period of his collaboration with Perugino, resulting in an Umbrian feeling in some of his pictures. Such are the small panels of SS. Roch and Sebastian at Bergamo (Morelli Collection, Nos. 19 and 24), with their feathery trees and skies full of light, or the *predella* scenes in the Uffizi (No. 1298), with their distant blue-green hills, and plains watered by a river among trees. The *Madonna with Saints and Angels* of the National Gallery, dated 1515, is similar in character, while the sketches for a *Baptism* in Sir F. Cook's Collection (Nos. 20 and 29) have distant

pale blue mountains, and light on the water and diffused in the sky, giving a peaceful, spacious effect. But, as a rule, Signorelli's landscapes are harshly or summarily painted, in heavy colours, and with a predominance of fantastic, weed-grown rocks. His usual scene consists of mountains in the far distance and a plain in the middle distance, with water and buildings, while rocky crags, with dark, heavy trees, form the more immediate foreground. Of this description are the backgrounds in the National Gallery *Adoration of the Holy Child*, the Louvre *Magi*, and the *Deposition* in the Duomo, Cortona; a very unsatisfactory example is that of the *Crucifixion* at Borgo San Sepolcro. The rocks in the first-named are very crude, in their greys, reds, and purples, and the ivy and iris on the nearest one are exaggerated in size. But the small plants of its foreground are exquisitely given, as they are in the *Madonna and Child* of the Uffizi (No. 74) and in the *Crucifixion* of the Florence Academy (No. 65). They comprise, among others, strawberries with flower and fruit, daisies, violets, pansies, pinks, veronica, forget-me-nots, campions, anemones, herb-Robert, tansy, plantains, lamium, and small red poppies. The vase of flowers in the altarpiece of the Duomo, Perugia, is also beautifully painted. The above *Crucifixion* shows us Signorelli's favourite rock-arch, which we see again in the *Deception of Totila* at Monte Oliveto; he also introduces ruined stone arches, as in the *Man's Portrait* at Berlin, and other classical buildings. We see these on the low

hills of the Louvre *Magi* (No. 1526), and in the *Crucifixion* on a banner at Santo Spirito, Urbino, while there is a fine temple behind the *Fall of Antichrist* at Orvieto.

The Monte Oliveto frescoes have very hard and roughly painted settings to their forceful figures—an unpleasing contrast to those of Bazzi in the same cloister. Flat daubs of yellow and green represent fields, with the usual rocks, and dark blue or purple pyramidal mountains. The skies are hard, as Signorelli's usually are, and his clouds too. But he can sometimes give varied effects of light, such as the primrose glow in the Louvre *Magi*, or the "flaming sunset sky" described by Mr. Berenson in the † Volterra *Annunciation*. Quite the most poetical is the *Pan* at Berlin, with its crescent moon, and sunset, lighting up the grass. The supernatural darkening of the sky, with sun and moon in eclipse, is wonderfully depicted in the *Rain of Blood and Fire* at Orvieto.

Miss Cruttwell describes the † Munich *Madonna* as having a "classic landscape," with a "stream of beautiful limpid green." One of the most important works formerly attributed to Signorelli, the fresco of the *Last Days of Moses* in the Sistine Chapel, is now, with the exception of certain portions of figures, ascribed by Mr. Berenson to Bartolommeo della Gatta; the same critic also denies the authenticity of the large, damaged picture (No. 22) assigned to Signorelli in the Pinacoteca, Perugia; neither of these has a sufficiently

good landscape to make one regret its withdrawal from the master.

III. Siena

Giovanni di Paolo, Francesco di Giorgio, Matteo di Giovanni

In Siena the Renaissance made itself most felt in sculpture and architecture, which were practised by several of her painters of this period; it is in the introduction of classical buildings into the pictures, together with the prominence given to details of Nature, rather than in actual landscape, that we perceive traces of the new movement among the followers of Sassetta and Sano di Pietro. These followers, of whom we shall name but a few—Giovanni di Paolo, Benvenuto di Giovanni, Francesco di Giorgio, and Matteo di Giovanni—show a considerable resemblance to one another, and more charm than power in their work. It is hard to realise that they are contemporaries of Piero dei Franceschi—even Matteo di Giovanni, the greatest of them and the most influenced by Florence, being so faithful to the old Sienese ideals and methods. With this group Siena's true art-history ended; the rose of home-grown fragrance slipped from her slack fingers; it was but an exotic that she held later, brought from Umbrian and Lombard gardens. The causes, internal and external, which led to this decay are as familiar as they are pathetic—Siena was hapless indeed, "povera città disgraziata," as one said to us who loved her.

GIOVANNI DI PAOLO [(?) 1403–1482]

Giovanni di Paolo was a better illuminator than painter; his pictures are full of the details of the miniaturist. We have already referred (p. 37) to his practice of filling the narrow strips dividing his panels with flowers—white roses, strawberry plants, periwinkles, wallflowers, and seed-pods—such as we see in some of his pictures at Siena (*e.g.* Academy, Nos. 198 and 324, *predellas*). Sometimes a very archaic, formal background is relieved by some such charming details, like the hedge of fruit-trees—apple, pomegranate, lemon, and orange—and the violets and pinks of one *Madonna* (No. 206). The *Paradise* (No. 172, *predella*) naturally recalls that of Angelico, but it is more fairy-like and less spiritual; the most delightful feature is the host of little grey rabbits with which the Holy Innocents sport. The blessed souls embrace amid a tangle of strawberries, violets, pinks, and tall white lilies, all of the same size! Fruit-trees stand in a row against the blue sky. By far the most elaborate landscape-setting is that of the *Flight into Egypt* (No. 176), where there is a curious mixture of realism and conventionalism, the former shown in the attempt to make the trees cast shadows, the latter in the gilt sun and gilding on the sunny side of the mountains, which are pyramidal in shape. Egg-like stones are strewn about, and there is an opaque green stream, marked in wavy lines, and a mill, with its wheel, beside it. Two men are turning up the earth with spades

near a barn with a thatched roof, while another is ploughing in the background. A flight of swallows and a crane wing their way across the deep blue sky, and at the side, painted as if in a margin, are some cherries and leaves. The whole shows an interest in open-air scenes that recalls Ambrogio Lorenzetti in the *Good Government.* A small *Nativity* in the Vatican has a beautiful effect of light, the radiance round the angel resembling a moon-halo in the dark blue night sky, and being reflected palely on the water and near hills. Sombre twilight is suggested in the *Gethsemane* near it, and both these have fruit-trees. There is a free rendering of the Castle of Sant' Angelo and the Sabine hills in the Louvre *Pope entering Rome* (No. 1659A; there ascribed to the School of Masaccio).

BENVENUTO DI GIOVANNI [*b.* 1436]

Benvenuto di Giovanni is so superficial and second-rate that he would not deserve mention were it not for the fact that two of his pictures in the Academy, Siena, the *Ascension* (No. 434) and the *Resurrection* (No. 581), have big landscapes, which, though hard and unpleasing, look as if they may have been taken from actual views. In the former a pale grey lake is encircled by green hills and lower brown slopes, with a town in the foreground; there is a rosy light in the pale blue sky, and a host of angels carry roses and lilies. In the latter there is again water with hills behind it, with a church in a walled enclosure, the tops of a grove of

Plate 9

THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT

FROM THE PICTURE BY GIOVANNI DI PAOLO IN THE PINACOTECA, SIENA. (*See p.* 75)

This quaint picture shows in its various details a love of country life. It combines the traditional gold background of Siena with a new realism as seen in the shadows cast by the trees

trees being seen. There are red rocks, and stones strewn on the path, the only pretty detail being the pinks, campanulas, strawberries, and other flowering plants round Christ's feet. Another pretty detail is seen in a *Madonna and Saints* (No. 436), where a dainty bunch of white jessamine is set in the fair tresses, above each ear, of a girlish Saint.

Other of these painters in the Academy, Siena, show care in details and decorative fancy; we may instance the woodpecker on a tree-trunk supporting the Bethlehem stable, or the hedge of red and white roses framing an open window. Such are the lizards on the rock, and the snail on a tree-trunk in Francesco di Giorgio's *Adoration of the Holy Child* (No. 437).

FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO [1439–1502]

This painter was one of those who excelled in Renaissance architecture, and introduced it into his backgrounds. A small circular building, in red brick, occupies the centre of the above picture, with creepers over it; beside it is a thatched shed built on to a rock-arch. Small plants are dotted over a foreground of red rock, and the distant landscape consists of a broad river flowing between formal lines of yellowish green hills, with a town at their base, in red and white. The colouring of the whole is rather gaudy. Francesco worked with another architect-painter, Neroccio di Landi; the *Scenes from the Life of St. Benedict* in the Uffizi (No. 1304, *predella*) is one of their joint productions. One scene shows a town with two columns, and

a pyramid, evidently suggested by Trajan's Column and the Pyramid of Caius Cestius in Rome. We see a cypress-grove and, in another panel, round-headed trees in full foliage, and others bearing pink blossom. Blue hills jut on to pale, flat water, and there are some impossible rocks ; the sky is a light blue. Francesco achieved a far finer landscape in his *Nativity* at San Domenico, Siena ; a broken classical arch in the centre has lofty grey mountains on either side, with dark wooded slopes, and tall trees outlined against an amber sky ; to the right is a sheet of pale, still water. A very charming little *Nativity* in Sir F. Cook's Collection shows a grassy glade, with trees and rising ground, and grey-blue peaks behind ; there is warm colour in the sky, and the whole effect is mellow.

MATTEO DI GIOVANNI [*circa* 1435-1495]

Matteo di Giovanni was by birth a native of Borgo San Sepolcro ; he shows some traces of Florentine influence, but is mainly Sienese, alike in his charm and his limitations. His great *Assumption* in the National Gallery shows his preference for the old-fashioned gilt background, and its landscape at the base is quite childish—flat, pale water edged with low green shores and trees, small churches, and towers. The *St. Sebastian* similarly has water winding among green hills in the background, and hard red and grey rocks, tufted with green ; it is difficult to see how Mr. Monkhouse could call it "a beautiful landscape" (*op. cit.* p. 40, *note*). Matteo's two pictures in San

Domenico, Siena, have both landscapes. In the lunette above his exquisite *St. Barbara* we see through some arches tree-bordered paths winding among grassy fields, and in his *Madonna with SS. Jerome and John Baptist* a spacious setting of dark reddish rocks, pines, cypresses, and other sombre trees, against a deep blue sky, and pale green water.

We must now turn to North Italy, to the progressive and influential School of Padua.

CHAPTER V

EARLY RENAISSANCE PAINTERS IN NORTH ITALY: 1400–1516

I. Padua

SQUARCIONE, MANTEGNA, THE BELLINI, CRIVELLI

ALL through the middle years of the Quattrocento the most powerful art-force in North Italy was indubitably that of the School of Squarcione at Padua. It influenced the two rival Schools at Venice, the painters of Ferrara-Bologna, and, through them, later on, Correggio; it influenced Crivelli, it produced as its golden bough—Mantegna. Although Jacopo Bellini, himself working in Padua at the time, seems to have stood aloof from it, if not in actual opposition, his daughter's marriage with Squarcione's adopted son, Mantegna, brought the young Gian Bellini into close contact with Squarcionesque methods, while Mantegna learnt something from Jacopo, and, we may add, considerably more from Donatello's presence in Padua —the latter, however, affecting his figure-painting only.

SQUARCIONE AND HIS FOLLOWERS

Squarcione (1394–1474) was probably not much of a draughtsman himself; his host of pupils were attracted by the collection of antiques that he had amassed, and by the congenial, learned atmosphere of Padua. They were, indeed, more archæologists than artists, devoting themselves to a pedantic, not to say slavish, copying of classic art, Roman rather than Greek in spirit. In the case of Mantegna this enthusiasm was inspired by a genuine understanding, but it usually so much absorbed him as to leave him little care for landscape. Squarcione's lesser pupils, and Mantegna himself to some extent, looked on Nature as conforming to rule, and as a part of their "rigidly decorative schemes"; they sought "to build their hills in terraces which run round them in nearly parallel courses, to joint their rocks with the regularity of masonry."[1] We see these traits in undistinguished as well as in the more famous works of the School—for example, in the conscientious, stiff *Gethsemane* of the Palazzo Borromeo, Milan, and *Crucifixion* of the dreary little Ateneo at Pesaro; both have highly unnatural rocks, the light in the sky being their best feature.

JACOPO BELLINI [*fl.* 1430–1470]

Jacopo Bellini is also addicted to winding terraces round his hills, to split rocks, and to swirling paths and streams. It is to a sketch of his, still preserved, that

[1] R. Fry, "Giovanni Bellini," pp. 10, 11.

both Mantegna and Gian Bellini owed the main ideas of the landscape background of their respective *Gethsemane* pictures, now in the National Gallery, in which these features may be observed. But Jacopo loved Nature for herself, and in her wilder aspects, and animals too, as his master Pisanello had done. His early sketch-book, dated 1430, at the British Museum is full of spirited sketches of horses, lions, dogs, leopards, eagles, stags and does, as well as most ingratiating dragons. Another sketch-book, of later date, is preserved in the Louvre. Jacopo's hills also are like Pisanello's, mere exaggerated mounds such as a child might draw, structureless and conical; in a sketch for a *Resurrection* they enclose a defile in the manner of Bono of Ferrara and Foppa. A *St. Sebastian* strongly reminds one of Mantegna, with its hill of winding strata, up which a winding, walled path climbs to the castle on its summit. Jacopo's streams are formal and narrow, flowing between regular, low banks, sometimes crossed by a plank bridge. Leafless trees occur in several sketches, and Jacopo's favourite wattled fence, borrowed by Giovanni in his *Gethsemane*. There are many careful studies of architecture, some characteristically Venetian, such as chimneys, campanili, windows, and medallions of inlaid marbles. Composition in the sketches is usually weak.

GENTILE BELLINI [1429–1507]

Gentile Bellini inherited this love for architectural detail, of which we see so much in his great pageant

pictures of the Academy, Venice, and the Brera, his view of the old façade of San Marco having a unique interest. His *Portrait of a Doge* at Bergamo (Lochis Gallery, No. 151) gives an interesting glimpse of a lagoon, with an island, and low spit of shore on which are grouped a campanile and some trees. The water is an opaque green. Gentile never acquired his brother's golden glow, or ceased to be archaic, though showing observation in portraiture and on his Eastern travels.

GIOVANNI BELLINI [*circa* 1430–1516]

It is only the early work of Gian Bellini that can appropriately be described here; the later developments of his wonderful, long life would carry one far indeed from Padua and Mantegna. How closely he at first resembled his great brother-in-law we have every opportunity of observing in the National Gallery, with their *Gethsemane* pictures, and the early Bellini *Blood of the Redeemer*. In all, the classical spirit is predominant, leading to the introduction of classical bas-reliefs on the parapet of the last-named picture, whose kneeling angel recalls Mantegna's acolyte in the Uffizi *Circumcision*. Mr. Fry has ingeniously placed a photograph of it side by side with the rather similar picture by Crivelli in the Poldi Pezzoli Museum, Milan, suggesting [1] that the two may have been "the outcome of their mutual intercourse" at Padua. One realises how much Bellini's central Figure gains by being set against the clear light sky, and on an open

[1] "G. Bellini," p. 18, and Plates IV. and V.

space, when contrasted with Crivelli's confused background. Other features in the Bellini are typical—the thin clouds in the sky, the water and range of hills on the horizon, with walled towns on their slopes—those brown slopes, set with a few trees, one of them bare. There are also a ruined arch and a well, and a church and castle, while the long receding valley that the hills border gives a sense of space and distance.

The same impression is conveyed in a greater degree by Bellini's *Gethsemane* than by Mantegna's, and the formation of his rocks and hills is more natural; several details show observation of Nature, such as the little waves of the stream, the silhouetting of some trees on the horizon, and the lovely sunset sky, where light clouds reflect the rosy glow. A white, walled town on the hill to the left also glows rosily, as do another in the plain and a tower on the opposite hills. This is quite one of the earliest and most successful attempts of the kind in Italian painting; it is a prelude to the later audacity of the Venetians in the treatment of light, and reveals in Bellini that perception of natural beauty in unstereotyped forms and that sense of atmosphere which were to add so much to his later work. One of the typical leafless trees is seen in the foreground of this *Gethsemane*, which probably dates from about 1459, the year in which Mantegna's version was completed.

The *Pietà* of the Brera was probably painted a year or two later; very noteworthy is the exquisite, tender light in its milky, opal sky, barred by delicate lines of

Anderson

THE TRANSFIGURATION

FROM THE PICTURE BY GIOVANNI BELLINI IN THE MUSEC, NAPLES. (*See p.* 218)

A beautiful example of Giovanni Bellini's early period, with his pastoral scenery and one of his fine skies. The rock-strata, with flowers in their crevices, and the bare tree, are also characteristic

pale grey-green cloud. About this time the Bellinis settled in Venice, and Giovanni's development progressed on un-Paduan lines; we will leave him here and return to Mantegna.

ANDREA MANTEGNA [1431–1506]

MANTEGNA, although born at Vicenza, signs himself "Patavinus," and associated himself so closely with Padua as only to leave it with great regret, and under much pressure from the Marquis of Mantua; he settled in the latter city about the same time that the Bellinis returned to Venice. His frescoes in the Eremitani, his *Gethsemane* of the National Gallery, and his triptych in the Uffizi all date from his earliest period; for both the latter he owed much to Jacopo Bellini. In the *Gethsemane* the bare tree with the cormorant, the rabbits sporting on a path, the rocks and pebbles, are all derived from Jacopo, the rocks showing the typical spirals and slabs, in russet colour, while a towered town, in the same hue, lies at the foot of the hills. The hard, white cloud-tufts in the dark sky are characteristic of Mantegna; the gleam of sunset light over the more distant hills, and the young fig-tree by the Apostles, are the most naturalistic features of the picture. Short, dark trees are dotted about, two herons stand by the river. Much the same criticism applies to the Uffizi triptych (No. 1111, *Adoration of the Magi*, *Circumcision*), which has again unreal rocks, and a hard sky, redeemed by its golden-pink glow in the *Magi* panel, and a finely painted

fig-tree and foreground plants. Its details are all careful, as, for example, the elaborate Renaissance decorations of the *Circumcision* panel, and the figures very stately.

The frescoes of the Eremitani, Padua, are considerably damaged; in places the blue of the sky has peeled off, leaving a curious dark red under-layer. Where the blue remains it is in some scenes heavy and dark; possibly Mantegna thought it thus acted as a foil to his splendid architecture, the classical palaces and arches, and decorations of hanging garlands, which take so important a place in these frescoes as in his other work. Other scenes have a light sky, with thin clouds. Mantegna's favourite background, which we find again in the *St. George* of the Academy, Venice—a sloping hill, marked out into fields, and crowned by a fortress, to which a walled path ascends—is seen here. One notices at once the oak sapling in the *Martyrdom of St. James*, with its sparse foliage and very slender stem; one bough is broken off.

Of the pictures painted after Mantegna's settling in Mantua, the † *Death of the B. Virgin*, now at Madrid, was probably the earliest. Its background is one of peculiar interest. From a window of the Palace is seen, as one may see it to-day, part of the lagoons encircling Mantua, those lagoons formed by the "smooth-sliding Mincius," whose reeds, alas! are no more "vocal." One sees too the long, medieval bridge that still spans them, and connects the town with the further shore. Added interest attaches to

the picture from the fact that it once belonged to King Charles I., and was described in his own hand in his catalogue as "a Mantua piece." Miss Cruttwell quotes from M. Yriarte the further description: "The dying of our lady . . . in the landskip where the town of Mantua is painted, is the waterlake, where a bridge is over the said water towards the town" ("Mantegna," p. 65).

Mantua retains but little of the work so faithfully executed by Mantegna for her ruling House, and so highly prized by them. The *Triumph of Julius Cæsar* and the *Madonna of Victory* have found alien homes at Hampton Court and in the Louvre. But Mantua's deserted, melancholy Castello still enshrines in its Camera degli Sposi some priceless frescoes, portrait groups of the Este family, and, on the ceiling, beautiful garlands of fruit and foliage. Some of these are coloured, some in grisaille, with a feigned opening to the sky, through which women's heads and cupids look down. This is the first known example of such decoration, and very probably gave Correggio the idea for his ceiling at San Paolo, Parma. A fine peacock is perched by the low painted parapet. On one part of the wall is the meeting between Ludovico d'Este and his Cardinal son, the background being a freely adapted view of Rome, showing the Coliseum, Pyramid of Cestius, and a classical portico and statue; the city walls climb up to a fortress on the top of the hill. A tree occupies the centre foreground. Over the door is an exquisite group of *putti*, whose wings

are those of butterflies or the blue jay, Mantegna here showing himself a true child-lover and Nature-lover, his habitual austerity laid aside. Beyond this, on the remaining half of the wall, are seen pages, with boarhounds and a horse; behind them is a hedge of oranges, lemons, and oak-foliage—the sky, as in the companion fresco, being blue, with white clouds. Some unreal rocks form an arch, supporting buildings.

The *Julius Cæsar* series, originally painted for another room of the same Palace, have very little landscape setting, though their spacious skies and their bare line of hills are very effective, especially in Nos. 3 and 4. Classical architecture is, as one would expect, introduced, and in No. 6 there is a conventional hedge, with golden leaves, and fruit, and small birds among them. (The faces are, of course, an utter wreck through repainting.)

The heroic young *St. George* of the Venice Academy (No. 588) owes but little of his attraction to his landscape setting, the character of which we have already indicated. Colourless water flows over a pebbly bed, surrounding an island, with one tree; a wreath of fruits is suspended above the Saint's head. Mantegna, indeed, cannot honestly be claimed as a landscapist, any more than Michelangelo; he lacks atmosphere, and Nature appeals to him chiefly as a decoration. This is so even where he treats her most poetically, in his *Wisdom banishing the Vices*, of the Louvre. Even his bushes or hedges of oranges, lemons, and pomegranates, such as those behind the National

Gallery *Madonna* or the late Dr. Mond's † *Hortus Inclusus*, had become a convention since the day when Uccello made them a fresh and lovely importation from Nature. Similarly the open, trellised cupola of foliage, flowers, and fruit, with birds among them, of his *Madonna of Victory* is purely conventional. The National Gallery *Madonna* has a typical foreground of pebbles and small plants, and a fir-tree in one corner. It dates from about 1498.

The couple of allegorical pictures in the Louvre were painted a few years later, in one of the first years of the new century, for Isabella d'Este, whose minute instructions to her artists (*cf.* p. 6) were apt to embarrass them, and probably account for some of the more artificial traits in these allegories, like the lettered scrolls in the *Wisdom and the Vices* (No. 1376). It would be difficult to overpraise the exquisite and varied natural features in this picture, painted with "Pre-Raphaelite" finish; they are often overlooked by reason of the weird, powerful figures. The evening sky and the distance are far more soft and mellow than is usual with Mantegna; a beautiful landscape of grey-green hills, with a pale river among trees and fields, is seen through the arches of dark, clipped foliage that run from side to side of the picture; these are starred with orange and lemon fruit and blossom. The water-plants and pond in the foreground are especially lovely—flowering reeds, bulrushes, water-lilies, duckweed, and white water-ranunculus. Two of the lily-leaves show their red side—an exquisitely true

touch. A hedge of white roses is set below the leafy arcade, and here too some cupids have wings of butterflies, even as Benozzo Gozzoli stole the plumes of peacocks for his angels. For once we can forgive the fantastic crags, steep and rose-red, in this marvellous blending of realism and magic.

The companion *Parnassus* (No. 1375) is more artificial; in it, the fantastic rocks, with their spirals and central arch, are too prominent, and the orange and lemon trees that crown them too formal. The pebble-strewn rocks and towered crags are familiar conventions, but the grey rabbits peeping from a hole, and the yellow patches on the stone, suggesting lichen, are more spontaneous touches. The evening sky is attractive, with its warm blue-green and golden pink hues veiled by filmy grey cloud.

More stiff and Squarcionesque is the *Crucifixion* (No. 1373)—its sky with curled lines of cloud, its hill surmounted by a walled town, its rocks and pebbly foreground being all of the type that we have associated with that School; one steep red rock is quite impossible, and a great defect. This picture is part of the *predella* of the *Madonna Enthroned* at San Zeno, Verona, where we see Mantegna's favourite dark sky with light clouds, his garlands of fruits and nuts, and the classical pillars with reliefs, which Cosimo Tura borrowed, among other things, from him. A rose-hedge fills the lower space under the arches.

A *Resurrection* at Bergamo (Lochis Collection, No. 200) used to be ascribed to Mantegna, but is more

probably by some pupil. It has his wonted mass of red-brown, unreal rock, and a fine sky, whose orange and rosy light is barred by lines of dark cloud. Some pupil should also be held responsible for the framed frescoes in the Church of Sant' Andrea, Mantua, in the chapel where Mantegna is buried, where a small *Holy Family* (*predella*) has a hedge of oranges, pomegranates, and lemons in fruit, and a rather fine *Baptism* a dark sky, overcast with clouds, from which light gleams.

CARLO CRIVELLI [*circa* 1430–1494]

Carlo Crivelli was a lesser genius than Mantegna, and his isolated career in the Marches, shut off from the new movements stirring in other parts of Italy, crystallised his limitations. As he signs himself "Venetus," he was presumably born on Venetian territory, and his first teaching was from the Muranese Vivarini. These followers of Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello maintained the Byzantine traditions which survived in Venice later than in other cities, through her intercourse with the East. With Crivelli, the rigid classicalism of Mantegna is replaced by an equally austere asceticism, medieval in spirit, and shot through by a vein of romantic exaggeration ; the very opposite of Mantegna's dignified self-restraint, it yet at times touches us more nearly in its childlike, emotional appeal. Leaving aside his figures, this exaggeration shows itself in embossed and jewelled ornaments, and in clumsy garlands, whose enormous

pumpkins and specimen apples recall the misplaced exuberance of certain harvest festivals.

Crivelli's love of gold, and of dainty, curious detail such as enriches his *Annunciation* in the National Gallery, as well as his minute studies, in Flemish style, of flowers, fruit, and birds, were no doubt inherited from Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello ; the influence of the Bellini, as we have indicated, was added later. The leafless tree and the russet-coloured, split rocks which are regular items in their repertory occur frequently in Crivelli's backgrounds. In his later works landscape is replaced by architectural settings and brocaded hangings, in the Ferrarese manner. Many of his altarpieces are merely rows of Saints with a gold background.

Crivelli's landscapes represent the type of scenery found in the Marches, cultivated uplands among hills ; their distance is usually more natural and less laboured than the foregrounds, which suggest the painful conscientiousness and map-like result of the Baldovinetti group. Crivelli resembles Mantegna in preferring Nature in decorative detail to actual landscape. His colours are clear and bright, but the texture of his flowers and fruit, carefully studied from life as they are, is hard and wooden, and he insists in a tiresome way on such details as cracks in marble, such as we see in his Vatican *Madonna* and elsewhere.

Crivelli's earliest picture, the *Madonna and Child* in the Pinacoteca at Verona, shows these characteristics already established ; there is the festoon of fruits with

Alinari

GONZAGA FAMILY GROUP

FROM A FRESCO BY MANTEGNA IN THE CASTELLO, MANTUA. (*See p.* 87)

Mantegna's favourite hill, walled and castled, is here seen. The city is intended as a reminiscence of Rome, with some of its monuments

birds upon them, another bird on the bough of a leafless tree, and curious details such as St. Peter's cock crowing on a column, and the Holy Innocents carrying other instruments of the Passion. Grasses and shrubs grow on a ruined wall, and castles are seen among woods in the distance. Another background, that of the pathetic *Christ and St. Francis* (*cf.* p. 83) of the Poldi Pezzoli Museum, Milan, resembles this in its details inspired by Padua—the column of the Flagellation is seen again, and the bare tree, and towers in a dark wood, also the stone wall.

Crivelli may be instructively compared with Bellini and Mantegna in the National Gallery, which is fortunate in the number and quality of his works that it possesses. The *Beato Ferretti* is the only one with an actual landscape; its unreal, red rocks and short, dark shrubs are very hard, but there is a soft and delicate evening sky, with birds flying across it, and a tree standing against it. The *Annunciation*, one of Crivelli's masterpieces, is, as we have said, full of details (among which we at once notice a magnificent peacock), and its Renaissance architecture is richly decorated. In the *Madonna with SS. Francis and Jerome* we see daisies and other flowers strewn singly over the cracked marble step, and a snail upon it. Similarly, in the beautiful *Madonna* at South Kensington (Jones Collection) violets and a stiff pink lie on the cracked stone; the Child holds an apple, and a festoon of fruits is suspended above. A characteristic landscape is seen behind, to right and left of the

figures—a formal, cultivated hill, a pebble-strewn path between trees, and a bare tree, with trailing creepers, and a bird on one bough. The sky, blue above, shades to pale pink in the lower part, with thin greyish white clouds. This picture a good deal resembles the *Madonna* at Bergamo (Lochis Collection), with its similar sky and trees; here too the Child holds an apple, while a string of apples, plums, and nuts is hung above, and a clove pink, gourd, and cherry lie on the parapet. There are formal shrubs in rows, and rocks, with grey mountains faintly seen in the distance. Garlands of fruit, and the apple in the Child's hand, appear again in the *Madonna* of Sir F. Cook's Collection (No. 7), and similar garlands, with roses, pinks, cherries, and pears, in two of the Brera Crivellis (Nos. 207 and 201). A third, the *Crucifixion* (No. 206), has a varied, cloudy sky, and hills whose tops are touched with gold; some of its trees are bare.

II. Ferrara

Cosimo Tura, Francesco Cossa

From Padua, as we have seen, sprang the stern and vigorous School of Ferrara, whose first master of note, Cosimo Tura, preserved the rigid, unattractive, but conscientious methods of the Squarcioneschi, alike in figures and landscape. Mantegna's spell was cast over him from the neighbouring Mantua; his pupil, Cossa, found congenial inspiration in the presence of Piero dei Franceschi in Ferrara itself. The subsequent

migration of Cossa and Lorenzo Costa to Bologna widened their own scope and that of their followers. Outside influences, such as that of Umbria on Costa and Francia, of Venice on Dosso Dossi, introduced elements of tenderness and romance into the School, which culminated in Correggio, in whose softness and sugariness Time took his proverbial revenges.

The leading painters of Ferrara and Bologna are seen at their best in landscape and in their feeling for Nature; one remembers the splendid *Vintage* (or *Autumn*) of Francesco Cossa at Berlin, the " enchanted woods " of Dosso, the serene horizons and scenery of Francia, fulfilling the same function as with the Umbrians, and the delicious green shadows of Correggio's glades, the suffused, subtle lighting of his skies.

COSIMO TURA [1430–1495]

Tura may be briefly dismissed, his landscapes being, as we have said, those of the Paduans, arid and rocky, with russet crags, and formal layers of stone. Sometimes, as in his *St. George* of the Duomo, Ferrara, he introduces the conical hill, ascending in circular strata, like old drawings of Dante's Mount of Purgatory; this is familiar to us from Mantegna, as are Tura's dark-toned skies, and the tree with very sparse foliage. Mantegnesque rocks form the background of the *Annunciation and Saints* in Sir F. Cook's Collection (No. 11); rocky desolation prevails in Mr. R. H. Benson's *Flight into Egypt*, and again in the National

Gallery *St. Jerome ;* this last is rendered slightly more human by the presence of the owl and woodpecker, as well as of the Saint's faithful lion. Like others of the School, Tura delighted in fantastic settings of sculpture and architecture, the ornamentation being often adapted from dolphins, coral, or shells, perhaps recalling his association with Venice.

FRANCESCO COSSA [1435–1480]

Tura does not seem to have taken any actual part in the frescoes of the Palazzo Schifanoia, executed partly by the hand, partly under the direction of his pupil Francesco Cossa, and Cossa's pupils. This unique series of scenes of courtly and outdoor life, episodes of the months and so forth, dates from about 1468–9, and was ordered by the reigning Duke, Borso d'Este. The frescoes abound in representations of Nature : some of them have elaborate landscapes ; some are damaged. Generally speaking, the backgrounds consist of rocks, with trees and shrubs ; water, with swans and boats ; towers on hills ; pomegranate and other trees ; and a city, probably intended for Ferrara. We see, among other incidents, hawking, duck-decoying, reaping and gleaning, ploughing, shepherds with their flocks, a vintage, rabbits, and birds. It was from these Schifanoia frescoes that Lorenzo Costa obviously derived his inspiration for his Bentivoglio Chapel *Triumphs* at Bologna. The fantastic rocks and ruined buildings in which Cossa took pleasure occur in these landscapes, which, it must be

admitted, lose something as landscapes from the crowded action which gives them so great an antiquarian interest; they are, perhaps, best in their distances of hills and sky. Cossa here shows his understanding of both courtly and peasant life, and we find an idealisation of the latter in his *Vintage* at Berlin. The young woman's figure is strongly reminiscent of Piero dei Franceschi; the vine-branch that she holds, with its leaves, grape-clusters, and tendrils, is an exquisite piece of detail; the landscape, of hills and trees, is enhanced by the low horizon and expanse of sky. A touch of homely realism is lent to the Dresden *Annunciation* by the snail upon the floor; the architecture here is very fine, but too often in Cossa it is eccentric, or over-ruined, as in the *predella* of the *San Giacinto* in the Vatican, where a long row of classical buildings, several of them in ruin, makes the background an ugly medley. Tura's harsh and barren rockiness is found in Cossa too. In a *Madonna and Saints* of the Pinacoteca, Bologna (No. 64), St. Petronius holds a small model of Bologna, and an elaborate vase on either side is heaped with apples, cherries, peaches, and other fruit.

III. Milan

FOPPA, BERGOGNONE

The absence of an indigenous School of painters of any note in Milan is one of those local problems to which we alluded in our opening chapter. It was on

three successive inspirations from outside that Milanese art depended—the first, from Giotto; the second, from Pisanello, in the person of Vincenzo Foppa, of Brescia; the third, from the magician Lionardo, whose magnetism, only equalled by that of Giorgione, drew all stars from their own orbits into his. Milanese lack of originality is shown in the servile imitation of his pupils and copyists, such as Giorgione's followers, even when most enthralled, never exhibit. The School of Milan expires with them; its blossoming-time was thus almost exactly a century, from Foppa's settling in Pavia, about 1456, to the death of Gaudenzio Ferrari, about 1547. During the earlier part of this period another external influence, that of Umbria, had been introduced through Bramante, who is further responsible for the style of architecture represented in Milanese pictures, such, for example, as the church in Luini's *St. Jerome* of the Poldi Pezzoli Museum. Nor could the comparative nearness of Venice fail to make itself felt, as we see most piquantly in Solario.

VINCENZO FOPPA [(?) 1427–1516]

Vincenzo Foppa, whose position in the Milanese and Brescian Schools has been compared by Morelli to that of Mantegna at Padua and Mantua, had apparently studied under some pupil of Pisanello, perhaps Stefano da Zevio. His *Crucifixion* at Bergamo very strongly recalls the *St. Jerome* of Bono da Ferrara (*cf.* p. 42) and various sketches by Jacopo Bellini, in its hummocks of hills shutting in a narrow valley, and

in its grove of dark trees, through which a path winds. Towers are seen at the far end of the valley, and the sky is dark blue, with light clouds. Perspective has been bravely, though not very successfully, attempted. Paduan influences are also recalled in Foppa's pebbly foregrounds and bare trees; Pisanello's, in his careful foliage-painting, and taste for gilt ornamentation and such details as flowering plants in pots.

Foppa's favourite background consists of rounded hills, with low trees, and masses of rock, or sloping fields, through which a path or water winds. Some typical instances are the *Pietà* and a *Madonna* at Berlin; a *St. Sebastian* in the Castello, Milan, and several damaged frescoes there; the *Death of Peter Martyr* in Sant' Eustorgio, and our National Gallery *Adoration of the Magi*. This is perhaps the finest example of Foppa's mature work; its colouring is rich and harmonious. The eye is caught at once by the rounded hill, crowned by slender trees, standing against the sky, and by the forget-me-not blue of the little lake, reflecting the trees, at its foot. The gilt star recalls Gentile da Fabriano. A ruined arch fills the left corner, with grasses and small birds upon it. The architecture here introduced—a towered town—is fantastic, but Foppa sometimes employs fine Renaissance buildings, as in his Brera *St. Sebastian*. A polyptych of various Saints, also in the Brera, has glimpses of stiff cypresses and other trees, of fields, and blue sky. Dark rounded trees, under a cloudy sky, are seen behind the fresco in the Wallace Collection of

the little Gian Galeazzo Sforza studying Cicero. (This has been also ascribed to Bramantino.) Foppa's *St. Jerome* at Bergamo (Lochis Collection, No. 225) is beautiful in its simple composition, and cloudless blue sky, against which the Crucifix, suspended from a tall tree, stands out clearly. A dark mass of rock balances the tree on the other side of the picture, and low hills, with trees, are seen in the distance; the rock strata have been pronounced geologically correct. Foppa was apparently pleased with the landscape of this *St. Jerome*, as he repeated it, with modifications, behind his † *Annunciation* at Arcore, near Monza. Luini too would seem to have had it in his mind when painting his own *St. Jerome* in the Poldi Pezzoli Museum.

AMBROGIO DA FOSSANO (BERGOGNONE) [*fl.* 1481–1514 (?)]

Sincerity and spiritual refinement mark the work of that very attractive painter, Bergognone. (This, rather than Borgognone, is shown from his own signatures and other contemporary evidence to be the correct way of spelling his name.) He painted exclusively religious subjects and is comparatively little known outside Milan and Pavia and their vicinity. More probably a pupil of Zenale than of Foppa himself, his work has sometimes been confused with Zenale's, as in the case of the Bergamo *Madonna*. He did not forget his native mountains and lakes in his landscapes, painting, for instance, a fine view of snow-tipped mountains and of the Lago Maggiore in his *Assumption*

Plate 12

Hanfstaengl

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI

FROM THE PICTURE BY FOPPA IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY. (*See p.* 99)

Note the city on the sky-line, the tree-clad hill and the pool below it—turquoise-blue in the original, where the archaism of the gilt star will also be observed

for the nuns of Nerviano, situated on that lake (Brera, No. 308). The *St. Roch* (No. 257) has a similar view. Previtali and Solario painted snow-mountains too, but such instances are surprisingly rare when one thinks how constantly the Italian painters could

> . . . see, in the evening glow,
> How sharp the silver spear-heads charge
> When Alp meets heaven in snow.

Bergognone's pale colouring, most noticeable in his flesh-painting, is seen too in his skies, which are often of a clear, blue-grey tone, exquisitely pure and virginal as his shy, sweet Madonnas. Light-toned also are the streets, lined with houses, or with the familiar canals of Milan and Pavia, that he often introduces. It is fitting that the Certosa of Pavia, which contains so much of Bergognone's best work, should be twice at least depicted, its unfinished façade appearing in the National Gallery *Christ bearing the Cross*, and in a picture of the same subject in the Gallery at Pavia. Bergognone's clouds are not usually successful, his hard, definite outline not lending itself to their treatment. An exception must be made in the case of Signor Crespi's *Holy Family*, where the sky, with its clouds, is the only good feature in a not very satisfactory landscape.

The rose-trellis *motif*, handed down from Stefano da Zevio, is a favourite with Bergognone, and passed on through him to Luini. We see it behind his Madonnas in the Palazzo Borromeo, in the Bergamo Gallery, and in the Castello, Milan. Other details of trees, flowers,

and animals are carefully painted—the dish of cherries in the last-named picture; the pomegranate trees and almond in blossom in the National Gallery, with the daisies, ferns, and strawberries in the grass; the farmyard ducks, and pond with reflections, at Bergamo; the curious pair of serpents starting out of the rocks in the Brera *St. Jerome*. Foppa's rounded hills, with towered buildings among them, are frequently copied by Bergognone, as in the fine *Crucifixion* of the Certosa, with its spacious sky. Lakes and mountains, or a river and hills, form the backgrounds of an *Adoration of the Holy Child* at Dresden, a *St. Christopher* at Berlin, a *Conversion of St. Paul* in the Palazzo Borromeo, Milan, and of a † series of frescoes in the Church of the Incoronata at Lodi; in one of these, a *Presentation*, this church is depicted. The sea is indicated in a small panel of the polyptych in Santo Spirito, Bergamo, representing St. Augustine with the child on the beach.

Neither Foppa nor Bergognone can really be claimed as landscape painters in the Umbrian, far less in the Venetian, sense; they did not grapple with problems of distance and lighting like some of the Florentines; they stayed as it were on the level of Jacopo Bellini, and no inheritor of their traditions was to prove himself a Giovanni.

CHAPTER VI

PAINTING IN UMBRIA FROM 1420 TO 1520

WHEN we turn from the stirring, progressive art life of Tuscany, as considered in the penultimate chapter, to see what the fifteenth century was doing for painting in the neighbouring province of Umbria, we feel that we are gliding from a crowded river into a peaceful backwater. There is a note of provinciality, of rusticity, in all Umbrian art, but that note only lends it an added charm, the irresistible charm suggested by the mere name of Perugia to all who know her. Here the sense of intellectual striving is laid aside, here we find no violent, contorted anatomy, no proudly displayed feats in perspective, but a childlike pleasure in fair colouring and lovely faces, in peaceful landscapes and stretches of clear sky. For, in spite of its comparative aloofness from the Renaissance movement in such centres as Florence or Padua, the Umbrian School must needs hold an important place in any book devoted to the consideration of landscape in Art, as no School outside Venice devoted so much care and so much space to landscape, or was so successful in rendering typical local scenery, and bringing it into harmony with the figure-subjects. "Learn by heart

the Umbrian landscape if you wish really to love and understand the spirit of Umbrian Art," is the wise precept of the authors of " The Story of Perugia."

The Umbrian painters excel in luminosity and, to use Mr. Berenson's oft-quoted phrase, in that " space-composition " which is so essential to our enjoyment of landscape, and which goes far to redeem the faults of otherwise unsatisfactory pictures. Witness the *Griselda* series of the National Gallery, poor in so many respects, but bathed in a flood of pale, clear light from the wide expanse of sky. Again, in Fiorenzo di Lorenzo's *St. Bernardino* series at Perugia, we see how large a space the sky occupies, the action taking place quite low down in the picture ; some of the best effects of Perugino and Pintoricchio are similarly obtained.

These Umbrian landscapes are, of course, considerably conventionalised : the light is usually that of late afternoon, or evening ; the trees are grouped in formal twos or threes, and the slenderness of their stems is exaggerated, being often represented by a single stroke of the brush ; the blue and green washes for fields and hills tend to be flat and monotonous, whilst trees and distant slopes are sometimes touched up with gold—a device originally borrowed from Gentile da Fabriano. The favourite tree of Perugino and his followers is so bewitching in its delicate tracery against the glowing sky that we almost overlook its unnaturalness—it has been variously described as an aspen, a larch, or an acacia—and the downward bending of the tips of its branches. Lionardo, at any

rate, did not overlook it, and probably glanced at Perugino's inaccuracy when he reminded his pupils that "the extremities of branches of trees, if not dragged down by the weight of their fruit, turn towards the sky as much as possible." But, when all has been said, how entrancing these Umbrian landscapes are, and it is Perugino who shows us them at their very best. The scenery of Pintoricchio has more variety and originality, but less poetry and harmony.

It is difficult to see how any one living in or near Perugia could fail to observe and love landscape. Sir Frederick Leighton declared that the views from the ancient hill-set city were unsurpassed in Europe, and indeed she looks upon a wonderful panorama of mountains, fold on fold, of sea-like valley, of sunrise and sunset. In the clear radiance of Spring atmosphere the vivid green of the young corn contrasts with snowy hawthorn and purple Judas-trees; in the delicious haze of Autumn the sun-baked earth glows ruddily under silver olives and tawny-leaved, black-bunched vines.

But although the Umbrian painters so faithfully adhered to local scenery and local traditions, their art was not in the first instance original. The thirteenth-century builders of San Francesco had to summon to Assisi masters from Rome, Florence, and Siena. Gentile da Fabriano, as we have already seen (*cf.* chap. iii.), was inspired by Siena and Florence, and found no worthy follower in Umbria, only feeble imitators. Nor was their next teacher, Benozzo

Gozzoli, the man to discipline them in the best Florentine traditions, or to correct their faults; his frescoes at Montefalco, delightful as they are, show just the characteristics that would appeal to his local pupils, and lack just the severer qualities that would have afforded them excellent training. But Umbrian defects, and the provinciality of which we have spoken, cannot be excused by any lack of good models; there must have been something wanting in the artistic nature of men who in one generation could fail to profit by the magnificent frescoes at Assisi, and in another by those, no less magnificent, at Spoleto, left unfinished at the death of Lippo Lippi. These Umbrian painters were, in fact, too facile; both they and their public were too easily pleased with gay decorative detail, sprightly narrative, or sentimental expression; commissions poured in upon them, as in the case of Pintoricchio, leaving them neither the time nor the desire to complete their artistic discipline as a Mantegna or a Masaccio would infallibly have done. None of these criticisms, needless to say, apply to the two great masters, Piero dei Franceschi and Luca Signorelli, but they, as we have seen, are only Umbrian by the accident of birth, and Florentine in all artistic essentials.

Beside Perugia, there were two secondary art-centres in Umbria—Gubbio and Foligno—not to speak of outlying towns like Fabriano, Urbino, and San Severino. The last-named produced an elder and a younger Lorenzo, usually called after their birthplace;

the elder was influenced by Gentile da Fabriano, the younger (*d.* 1503) by Niccolò Alunno. Their works are mostly to be seen in the Marches. The elder Lorenzo (Salimbeni), assisted by his brother Jacopo, frescoed the walls of San Giovanni, Urbino, with scenes from the life of St. John Baptist, dated 1416; they are remarkably well preserved, and such restoration as they have undergone has been judicious. They show a lively interest in Nature, in such details as shrubs with foliage of varied colour, myrtle wreaths on several heads, Jordan full of fish, with an eel and a frog also introduced, creepers over a trellis and house-walls, and dogs and birds. A pretty scene of the meeting of the Child Christ and child Baptist has two stags and a rabbit in a hedge. But the rocks, sky, and water are quite primitive, and there is no sense of distance, the heads of some spectators appearing over a dip in the rocks. The figures are vigorous and dignified, and there is some good Gothic architecture.

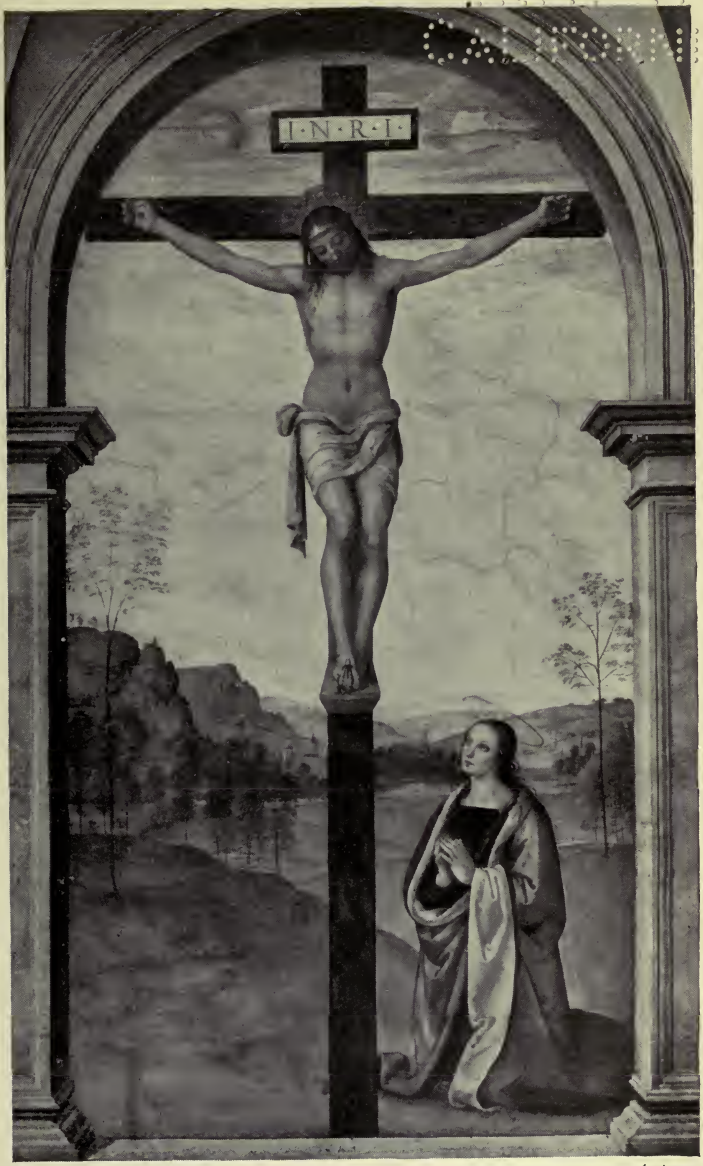
Urbino was full of artists and men of letters, summoned thither by her wise and cultured Dukes. Giovanni Santi's well-known verses show that he knew Lionardo, Perugino, and other contemporary artists well, while in the light of his son's glory Urbino itself was destined to be not least among the cities of Italy. But Gubbio and Foligno were indeed provincial, nor do their painters often attain to that luminosity which we have claimed as a characteristic of the main Umbrian School. Their works, too, can hardly be studied outside the scattered towns of

Umbria and the Marches; they are seen at their best, sometimes a rather poor and pathetic best, on the dim walls of the country churches for which they were originally painted. Many, however, are collected in the Pinacoteca at Perugia, and others were temporarily sent there during the recent *Mostra di Arte Umbra.*

Gubbio, on its bare mountain-side, although famed in other branches of craftsmanship, such as majolica and illumination (*cf.* "Purg." xi. 79–81), made no better contribution to painting than the somewhat mediocre frescoes of Ottaviano Nelli (*d.* 1444), still to be seen in his native town, and at Foligno and Assisi. (His *Madonna del Belvedere* at Gubbio has a good deal of quiet charm.) Foligno, which nestles in the rich valley of Spoleto, at the foot of the hill of Montefalco, (*cf.* p. 62), produced a painter of more force and note in Niccolò Alunno.

NICCOLÒ ALUNNO [1430–1502]

Niccolò worked under Benozzo Gozzoli, and was influenced in later life by Carlo Crivelli, to whom, although inferior, he is much akin, in the sincere and passionate intensity of his religious emotion, and in his inability to represent it without exaggeration amounting almost to the grotesque. His colouring is often crude and violent, and his landscapes sometimes purely formal, as are two in San Niccolò, Foligno, and a *Crucifixion* in the Poldi Pezzoli Museum, Milan. Another *Crucifixion* in the Vatican has formal trees



Anderson

THE CRUCIFIXION

DETAIL FROM THE FRESCO BY PERUGINO AT STA. MARIA MADDALENA DE' PAZZI, FLORENCE. (*See p.* 118)

The central panel of a wide landscape; peaceful evening, feathery trees touched with golden light

and hedges, and a gilt background. But Niccolò had a genuine love for his native scenery, and introduces the Vale of Spoleto into his *Scenes from the Passion* at the Louvre (No. 1120, *predella*), while it is suggested in his National Gallery picture and in that at the Palazzo Colonna, Rome. The latter has a good distance and fairly luminous sky, and Niccolò succeeds admirably in giving a rosy sunset glow in the *predella* of his Assisi picture (in the Duomo), which is one of his best. It gives an accurate view of Assisi, on its hill, with its Rocca above, and some dark trees behind. The Louvre picture shows trees against a sunset sky, and snow on the mountains. Niccolò is less successful in his opaque water, with stiff, white ripples; in his hard clouds, and structureless, round hills, several of which features are seen in his National Gallery picture. In this, again *Passion Scenes*, the sea, curiously enough, is introduced, with ships upon it; Niccolò may very likely have visited the Adriatic coast. This picture does not do him justice—its red, brown, and green rocks are appallingly bad; they can only be matched by those of his fellow-pupil, Pier Antonio Mezzastris, who, in his frescoes of a *Miracle of St. James* in the Cappella de' Pellegrini at Assisi, shows to what depth an obscure Umbrian painter could sink. The figures have a certain childlike charm, but Mezzastris' rocks, and the stream at their base, only suggest an unhappy effort in pastry and highly coloured whipped cream, while some rabbits and camels are equally ridiculous. A little city,

presumably representing Compostella, is seen in one, with a river spanned by a bridge.

BOCCATIS DA CAMERINO [(?) 1435–(?) 1480]

Another obscure, provincial painter, Giovanni Boccatis da Camerino, deserves a passing notice for his real attempt to portray Nature in his large picture at Perugia (Pinacoteca, No. 19). The *Madonna and Saints* have a flat trellis and canopy behind and above them, of greenery with red and white roses. One panel of the *predella* shows the olives of Gethsemane, rather too tall and fir-like, and a sea or lake with the sun setting over it. The sun is a round, red disc, and the surrounding clouds are tinged with red, the sky above them being a clear green ; it is, for that date, a quite unusual and accurate picture of a sunset. Another, the *Via Crucis*, has water in the background, as in Niccolò's *Crucifixion ;* it is opaque, and dotted over with small islands.

Passing over other inconspicuous painters, we may now turn to Perugia, and to the more immediate predecessors of Perugino.

BENEDETTO BONFIGLI [1425–1496]

Only an ultra-severe critic could turn away in displeasure from Bonfigli, despite his obvious limitations—his naïveté and simplicity are disarming. We are not here concerned with figure-painting, or would dwell on the shy, serious sweetness of his Madonnas and child angels, as seen in the Pinacoteca, Perugia.

Bonfigli too learnt from Benozzo Gozzoli, and shared with him the fairy-tale instinct, but he was more refined and spiritual. He is not, however, a landscapist, as the absurd, rounded hillocks of his *Magi* pictures at Perugia and in the National Gallery testify, and his frequent use of gold backgrounds. (The National Gallery picture has a deep blue sky.) The flat crowns of roses and the cypresses in some of his pictures are delicately given, and the views of Perugia, with the Palazzo and Church of Sant' Ercolano, in his *Scenes from the Life of St. Louis of Toulouse*, in the Pinacoteca, Perugia, have their own interest. The towers of Perugia are seen in his *Gonfaloni* (processional banners) in several churches in the town.

FIORENZO DI LORENZO [1440–1521]

A MORE ambitious and efficient painter, who had studied under Mezzastris and Gozzoli, and learnt in Florence from better men than they—from Pollaiuolo, Signorelli, and Verrocchio—is Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. He, in turn, was the master of Perugino and Pintoricchio, and his influence on the latter is very marked. Perugia was, naturally, brought more into direct contact with Florence than were the lesser Umbrian towns; Florentine sculptors had designed her exquisite fountain and the façade of St. Bernardino's Oratory. Florentine influence on Fiorenzo betrays itself mostly in the improvement of his figures, with which we are not concerned. In the minute, carefully

finished detail of his landscapes right up to the horizon, as, for example, in the *Crucifixion* of the Borghese Gallery, Rome, we can perhaps trace the teaching of Pollaiuolo. Fiorenzo appears to have passed through a dull, unprogressive middle period between his promising youth and the reawakening of his later life; fortunately the Perugia Gallery possesses a fine example of his early work, a *Nativity*, as well as of his late work, an *Adoration of the Magi*. Fortunately, too, his large unpleasing *Madonna and Saints* in the National Gallery is now supplemented by the lovely little *Madonna and Child* of the Salting Bequest.

Fiorenzo's skies, although not so glowing as Perugino's, are wide, and full of clear light; they are often a pale grey-blue in colour, flecked with white clouds. Morelli has pointed out the "sharply illuminated edges" of his clouds as very characteristic. In one of his *St. Bernardino* pictures at Perugia he gives a golden pink sunset, reflected in pale water. He is fond of perpendicular piles of rock, with overhanging tops, natural arches, and tufted grass; his trees are rather dark, the foliage sometimes well defined, like the cypress, fir, and fig-tree in the Perugia *Magi*. Sometimes he paints the typical feathery tree that Perugino and Pintoricchio learnt from him, which really approaches most nearly to the aspen-poplar. Fiorenzo gives good effects of distance—often a river winds to the horizon between low hills, as in the Bergamo *St. Jerome* (Morelli Gallery) or the Borghese Gallery *Crucifixion;* the latter is a most minutely

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DETAIL FROM THE MADONNA ADORING THE CHILD BY PERUGINO, IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY. (*See p.* 116)

A typical Umbrian landscape, with spacious horizons and water among hills

finished work, full of detail, such as the ripples on the water, and the water-birds and fish. Like other pupils of Verrocchio, he evidently loved flowers, and depicts them with dainty exactitude. In the Perugia *Nativity* there is a charming foreground of well-grouped flowers—grape-hyacinths, daisies, violets, a dandelion with its feathery "clock," wild arum leaves, and white ranunculus. A beautiful garland of roses is suspended above the Madonna's head in the Salting picture. (Another small *Madonna and Child* on the next wall, ascribed to Pintoricchio, may possibly be by Fiorenzo; it is rather hard, and the trees are very formal.) Fiorenzo's *St. Bernardino* series at Perugia, painted about 1473, resemble enlarged pages of an illuminated missal, and deserve close study; their figures and landscapes alike breathe the very air of romance.

PERUGINO [1446–1524]

Although Pietro Vannucci is known among the Immortals as the Perugian *par excellence*, "Il Perugino," he was nevertheless born at Città della Pieve, rather more than twenty miles from Perugia; hence he signs his pictures sometimes "Petrus de Castro Plebis," sometimes "Petrus Perusinus." His studies under Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, a man very little senior to himself, were supplemented during several prolonged visits to Florence by teaching from Verrocchio and collaboration with Signorelli. The influence of Piero dei Franceschi has also been traced in his

work, and he met the chief contemporary Florentine artists in Rome during the decoration of the Sistine Chapel. His powers of portraiture gained considerably from this intercourse, but his atmospheric effects and his landscapes are entirely Umbrian. An early † *Crucifixion* at La Calza, Florence, is so reminiscent of Signorelli that it has been doubted whether some of the figures may not be from his hand, while in the *Deposition* of the Academy, Florence, Filippino is known to have begun the figures, but both landscape backgrounds are Perugino's own, the first strongly recalling Fiorenzo. To realise the truth of this, one has but to contrast Perugino's † *Vision of St. Bernard* at Munich (of which there is a good copy in Santo Spirito, Florence, for which the original was painted) with Filippino's treatment of the same subject in the Badia, Florence, which was in all probability suggested by the earlier work. The foreground figures in both are exquisite, but contrast the small sky-space, the confused background of rocks, buildings, and distant figures given by the Florentine with the Umbrian's vista of arches that lead the eye ever further back, until it rests upon lines of gentle hills, retreating to a far horizon! Perugino's figures are not allowed to encroach on this scene—only the curve of the Blessed Virgin's arm projects slightly on one side of the framing arch, only three slenderest trees impinge on the cloudless sky. The comparison of any *Nativity* by these two painters will emphasise this difference in their landscape-settings, to the advantage of the

Umbrian, yet Filippino was one of the most poetical of Florentine Nature-painters.

It would be a thankless task to exalt Perugino's landscapes by depreciating his figures, they too have given one such intense delight. But it must be admitted that the strain of artificiality or insincerity that sometimes mars them is entirely absent from Perugino's landscapes ; in them, and in one or two of his portraits, we find his true, sincere self. One feels that in these scenes he took the keenest pleasure, that they were very real to him, and called forth all his skill. It is difficult to write of these entrancing landscapes in words that shall not seem indiscriminately enthusiastic, but one hopes, at least, that M. Michel [1] will have found few to agree with his verdict of " les perspectives indifférentes que le Pérugin avait déroulées derrière ses madones " ! To look on them is to be transported into Umbria. We have already spoken of some of their chief features—of their skies, often Tennyson's " daffodil sky," unchanged by storm or winter, steeped in the warm tenderness of evening light ; of their trees, " of such slight and feathery frame as shows them never to have encountered blight or frost or tempest." [2] Other features are a broad stretch of sea-like plain, or of still water, with little castled towns on its low shores, as we see Lake Trasimene with Passignano in the *Transfiguration* (No. 6) at Perugia. Soft green hills bound the valleys,

[1] " Les Maîtres du Paysage," p. 5.

[2] Ruskin, " Modern Painters," ii. p. 235.

their long ridges outlined against the horizon ; in the National Gallery triptych a faint blue peak looks over the edge, a great way off, as if from

> The shore that hath no shore beyond it set in all the sea.

This feeling of space is accentuated by the architecture that Perugino introduces—vast, tessellated pavements, lofty arches, or airy cupolas. His fresco in the Sistine Chapel, *Christ giving the Keys to St. Peter*, has such a background, the stretch of sky and distant landscape of low blue hills and slender trees being seen to great advantage behind the piazza and through the classical arches at each corner.

As the decoration of the Sistine Chapel was the climax of Perugino's career, we may here devote a few words to it. He was still under forty when, in 1480, Pope Sixtus IV. called him to Rome to take a leading part in the decoration of his private chapel in the Vatican. It has been suggested that the Pope's choice of Umbrians in the first place—the Florentines having only been called in later—was due to the influence of Melozzo da Forlì at the Papal Court. As is well known, this is the only one of the several frescoes painted in the Sistine Chapel by Perugino which survives ; it was executed in 1482, and is a masterpiece, the figures also being of an unusual excellence.

In several of Perugino's pictures the towers and churches seen in the distance are Gothic in type (*cf.* p. 14). Two pictures in the Gallery at Perugia (Nos. 7 and 9) give a distant view of that town.

Anderson

THE JOURNEY OF MOSES

FROM THE FRESCO BY PINTORICCHIO IN THE SISTINE CHAPEL, ROME. (*See p.* 125)

The painter's characteristic rocky knoll is prominent, and his trees are conventionally treated. The receding distance in the right corner is especially attractive

A multitude of small details or incidents, or a crowd of figures, in all of which Pintoricchio delighted, would have interfered with Perugino's broad decorative treatment, and are consequently not as a rule introduced. Yet he can give such details exquisitely when he chooses, as we see, for instance, from the silver sheen of the fish in Tobit's hand (National Gallery), and from the daisies in the Munich † *Adoration of the Holy Child.* It must be confessed that Perugino's hard, vivid-coloured *mandorla*-glory does somewhat spoil his sky, when introduced. His only suggestion of changing seasons is in the occasionally varied colour of the foliage, found in Pintoricchio also; it may possibly be autumnal, but is more probably intended for the bright golden brown tint of the poplar in Spring. Trees and hills are often lightly dusted over with gold, an artificiality that one would have expected Ruskin to condemn, whereas he praises the "singular grace" and "infinite grace" with which his favourites, Perugino and Tintoretto, employ it! In some of his later, or more hurried, works Perugino's colouring is thin, and his backgrounds and sky become mere faint washes of colour, as in the large *Nativity* frescoes of the Perugia Gallery and our National Gallery. No doubt this is partly due to fading, partly to their unfinished state, and, even at their feeblest, they still convey the sense of space and peace.

Landscape such as we have attempted to describe is seen in the National Gallery triptych, which Morelli

calls one of Perugino's "most perfect works," and in that other perfect work, the *Crucifixion* at Sta. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi, Florence, which gains immensely from its solitariness in the quiet Chapter-house, one of whose walls it entirely fills. Both landscapes harmonise perfectly with their deeply devotional subject. The Pazzi fresco has less colour in its sky, save for some rosy, fleecy clouds in the upper part; in both are seen quiet water winding among the hills, and slender, feathery trees, some of them acacias, that draw the eye to themselves at once. In the foreground of our picture are some dainty flowers—ranunculus, iris, a poppy, daisies, and anemones. Similar hills dotted with tall trees, and a broad, green valley with water, are to be found in the † *Nativity* at Città della Pieve, and in the altarpiece of the Villa Albani, Rome (shown at the Exhibition of 1911, but usually inaccessible). Here the landscape and its expanse of clear blue sky, with warm yellowish light, are seen through the arches of a portico. Sometimes the winding river or the expanse of lake is carried right up to the horizon, as in the *Baptism of Christ*, of which more than one copy exists; the authenticity, however, both of that in the National Gallery and at Rouen has been questioned.

Some other notable works with typical backgrounds are:

In Florence, (*a*) Academy:

The *Christ in Gethsemane*. Again a deeply devotional picture. From the landscape point of view, the

reflection of the distant towers in the water, and the great expanse of clear, light sky, should be noticed.

The *Crucifixion.* Here dark grey clouds are made to close in over the pale sky, obviously representing the supernatural darkness of the solemn hour. The hills and rocks are rather more jagged than is usual with Perugino. St. Jerome's lion is hardly an example of realism.

(*b*) Pitti:

The *Entombment.* Its landscape is specially well composed; the remarks above on the *Gethsemane* apply to this picture also.

(*c*) Uffizi:

Portrait of Francesco delle Opere in the Tribuna. (This portrait, holding a scroll inscribed "Timete Deum," was formerly believed to be Perugino himself.) The colouring of the background is rich and deep, rather recalling Solario's. There is a twilight effect, with two slender, brown trees against the evening sky, and a long, low line of plain or water on the horizon.

In Siena, there is a large *Crucifixion* in Sant' Agostino, a late work, with painfully affected figures, and a somewhat formal, shadowless landscape of fields and hills enclosing water. The usual trees stand in a row against the clear, greenish sky; the sun and moon are veiled in filmy grey cloud. On the top of the Rood, the Pelican, with three young ones, has her nest.

In Perugia, besides the Peruginos of the Pinacoteca, we have the characteristic frescoes of the Nobile Cambio, begun in 1499, of which an admirable description may be found in " The Story of Perugia." Their colouring is soft and subdued; the sky is light on the whole, though deep blue in the upper part of some frescoes, or rosy, or clouded. The *Nativity* has a particularly beautiful landscape. The foregrounds of most are curiously spotted over with brown dots.

In the Bologna Gallery a *Madonna in Glory*, and in the Louvre a *St. Sebastian* (No. 1566A) and *tondo* of the *Madonna with Saints and Angels* (No. 1564), have very typical and delicate backgrounds, and lovely skies.

The above are chosen as representative from the very long list of Perugino's authentic works; he has suffered even more than other masters from having the inferior productions of his pupils attributed to him. So entirely did they copy him that the authorship of many pictures of his School is still hotly contested and may never be finally decided. We may instance the *Apollo and Marsyas* of the Louvre, probably by his own hand, with its fine, typical landscape, and the *Cenacolo di Foligno* at Florence. The *Resurrection* of the Vatican, and its *predella* at Munich, are assigned by Morelli to Lo Spagna. We will speak of three of these pupils after considering Pintoricchio—the incomparable Raffaelle must be treated at greater length in another chapter.

A Master of Romantic Landscape

PINTORICCHIO [1454–1513]

ANY modern essay on Pintoricchio is fairly certain to begin with two statements—first, that he has been much underrated in the past; secondly, that he was a collaborator with rather than a pupil of Perugino. Both are, however, so necessary to a true understanding of Pintoricchio that one must repeat them yet once again.

Bernardino Betti of Perugia, nicknamed Pintoricchio, "the little painter," was a fellow-pupil with Perugino, who was very little older than himself, under Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. He was undoubtedly influenced by Perugino, and also by Signorelli, but Fiorenzo's influence was the most powerful and lasting. It is seen chiefly in his backgrounds, with their wide distance, valleys and streams, wooded hills and winding paths, and, above all, their fantastic piles of rock, with natural arches and overhanging tops. If Pintoricchio does not always attain the atmospheric glow and the serenity of Perugino's landscapes, his are distinctly less monotonous. By his contemporaries they were evidently highly valued, and recent critics have confirmed their opinion. Morelli asserts that Pintoricchio's frescoes in the Sistine Chapel reveal him as "a landscape-painter of the first rank," and adds: "As an imaginative landscape-painter Pintoricchio surpasses almost all his contemporaries." His latest biographers, Commendatore Ricci and Miss March-Phillipps, write in the same strain.

We are not concerned here with the problem of how much help Pintoricchio may have received from Perugino in the figures of his Sistine frescoes, or from the young Raffaelle in those at Siena, nor with his obvious defects of badly drawn figures, love of mere pageantry and decorative detail, and want of deep feeling. One is sorely tempted to launch out into praise of his children, who are among the loveliest ever painted : with the poet, Pintoricchio may bid us

Look for me in the nurseries of Heaven.

Pintoricchio, like Perugino, sometimes gives an added effect of space to his landscapes by framing them in a window or arch, as in the *St. Jerome preaching* in Sta. Maria del Popolo, Rome, or the *Annunciation* of the Borgia Apartments in the Vatican, or by placing his scene in a vast piazza, with mountains and sea in the far distance, as in the *Death of St. Bernardino* at Ara Celi, Rome. Classical arches or buildings are introduced in the Sistine Chapel *Baptism*, in the *St. Catherine* and the *St. Sebastian* of the Borgia Apartments, and elsewhere ; also actual views of places, such as Siena in the *Betrothal of the Emperor* (Library of the Duomo, Siena), and again in the *St. Bernardino* at Ara Celi, and such as Spello in the *Annunciation* of the Collegiata Church, Spello.

Pintoricchio had an evident love of flowers, birds, and animals ; his foreground flowers are accurately and delicately depicted, among them Fiorenzo's dandelion " clock," the wild arum with scarlet seed-

pods, daisies, pinks, poppies, and lily of the valley. These star the grass at the feet of the Holy Family in the Siena *tondo*, or where the young Saint, Bernardino, has sought refuge from the world (Ara Celi), or the young knight, Arringhieri, keeps vigil with clasped hands (Siena, Duomo). Susanna's garden (Borgia Apartments), like the Madonna's at Spello, has its low rose-hedge, and a delicate, crimson rose-bush is set right in the foreground of the Palazzo Borromeo *Via Crucis*. Here too is a fig-tree in fruit, and in other of his works we find figs, cypresses, firs, and an occasional palm, mixed with the more usual feathery trees. Some of Pintoricchio's best effects, in the Borgia Apartments, and generally, are gained by silhouetting his trees against a clear sky, and by his distances. Birds usually wing their way across these skies; sometimes they are rather ungainly and shapeless. Two peacocks adorn the Madonna's canopy in the Perugia altarpiece; Penelope's cat sits at her feet (National Gallery); and in Susanna's garden we see rabbits, stags, an ape, and a guinea-pig. The painter's favourite greyhound appears in the first of the Siena Biblioteca frescoes, and again in the *St. Catherine*. Horses he never drew successfully.

Some of Pintoricchio's frescoes have been hopelessly repainted, or were executed in a hurry, and with the help of assistants, like many of those of the Borgia Apartments. His later work, such as that in the Biblioteca, Siena, hardly fulfils the promise of his youth. His landscapes are sometimes spoilt by over-

crowded figures and incidents, by gaudy colouring, or lavish use of gilt. The grass in several of the frescoes in the Borgia Apartments, for example, is thickly sprinkled with round, gilt spots, and the *St. Catherine* has a gilt sun. In spite of various defects, this *St. Catherine* landscape, with its warm evening light, is one of the best of the series, another being the *Visitation;* both of these are by the master's own hand. His typical rock-arch is very prominent in the *Hermits.* Some of these frescoes have artificial or dull backgrounds, and the same is the case with the *Coronation of Our Lady* in the Vatican, and the *Nativity* of the Siena Gallery (No. 407). But Pintoricchio's best works are free from these defects, and are of quite singular charm. Such, to name but a few examples, are the Siena *tondo* of the *Holy Family;* the San Gimignano *Holy Family;* the Madonnas at Oxford and Cambridge; the National Gallery *St. Catherine;* the *Kneeling Arringhieri;* the lovely *Madonna* of the Marchese Venosta Visconti (a *tondo*, shown in the Rome Exhibition, 1911); the altarpiece in the Perugia Gallery, and the gem-like *Via Crucis* of the Palazzo Borromeo, Milan—Pintoricchio's last, and one of his most perfect works. The *Portrait of a Boy* at Dresden, pronounced by Morelli to be an early work, shows careful observation of Nature in the eddying of the water round a rock, and the mistiness of the distant peaks.

The best landscapes of all in the Sistine Chapel are admittedly Pintoricchio's, more especially the *Journey*

Brogi

THE YOUNG KNIGHT ARRINGHIERI

FROM THE FRESCO BY PINTORICCHIO IN THE DUOMO, SIENA. (*See p.* 123)

A rich, varied landscape, with characteristic rocks and trees. Delicate details of flowers in grass

of Moses. They were painted between 1482 and 1485, and were at one time attributed to Signorelli and Perugino. Both frescoes have the usual rocky knolls, crowned with trees, and long hill-slopes, retreating to the horizon, with water between. In the *Baptism* the Colosseum and other classical buildings are introduced. Of the *Moses* landscape Miss March-Phillipps writes (*op. cit.* p. 43) : " Nothing up to this time had been seen so lovely as this background—on one side, the low purple hills, touched with golden gleams, running down into the soft distance; on the other, a clear, grassy space."

The Ara Celi frescoes, to which we have already alluded, date from about the same time. They are very charming in their simplicity and light colouring.

Of those in Sta. Maria del Popolo, only the *Nativity* and the *St. Jerome* frescoes (besides those in the choir-vaulting) can be safely assigned to Pintoricchio, and the *Nativity* has been much repainted. It is full of careful detail, such as the creepers over the shed, the river with its bridge, and the delicate trees. The *St. Jerome preaching* has an exquisite, minute landscape.

The series of frescoes in the Library of the Duomo, Siena, describing the adventurous history of Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., are effective as decorations, and their gaudiness no doubt suited the taste of that *gente vana*, the Sienese. They were painted between 1503–8, shortly after Pintoricchio had taken up his residence in Siena. The first scene is noticeable for its attempt to portray a thunderstorm

—sulphur light behind a dark mass of storm-cloud—and a conventional rainbow. The town behind is supposed to represent Genoa, and that in the tenth of the series, Ancona. The second scene is laid in a fairy-tale Scotland—a broad river, with hilly shores, and a town reflected in it, being seen through Renaissance arches. Quite the best landscape is that of the *Emperor's Betrothal*, with the Porta Camollia and Siena behind; here there is evening light, with rosy clouds, and green hill-slopes with some fine trees. In the last scene one may notice the bulrushes in the foreground, and the delicately tinted lilac hills and sea beneath a pale lemon sky. Several of the scenes have indoor architectural settings.

In the second Arringhieri fresco (Duomo), Rhodes is seen behind, with her turrets, palms, and ships.

The frescoes fast fading on the walls of the Collegiata Church at Spello have still a dim, melancholy grace, and one feels that Pintoricchio was content with them, as he painted his own portrait beside them. Of the *Annunciation* we have spoken; the other two have large but apparently roughly sketched-in backgrounds of which various trees are the most prominent feature.

The altarpiece in Sant' Andrea, Spello—though feeble as to its figures, and largely by a pupil, Eusebio di San Giorgio—has a pleasant landscape, suggesting the Spoletan Valley and Foligno. Another work of which probably only the design was Pintoricchio's is the fresco of the *Young St. John in the Desert* (hard by

that of Arringhieri); it is a charming sylvan rather than desert scene, of greensward with stags beneath an avenue of trees.

We have not alluded to the so-called "grotesques," which Pintoricchio was one of the first to copy from recently discovered Roman remains, and with which he decorated a palace in Rome. These took the form of small landscapes framed in garlands, and monsters composed of human heads or bodies, animals and plant-forms. These "grotesques" became extraordinarily popular, and are seen at their best in Raffaelle's Vatican *Loggie*.

We must conclude this chapter by a brief mention of three among the many Umbrian pupils of Perugino and Pintoricchio, who, as we have seen, assisted them in many of their paintings, and whose independent works are very imitative. Others of purely local interest, whom we must pass over, such as Tiberio d'Assisi, still caught something of their master's landscape spell.

LO SPAGNA: EUSEBIO DI SAN GIORGIO: GIANNICOLÀ MANNI

The three who showed most power were Giovanni di Pietro, better known as Lo Spagna, Eusebio di San Giorgio, and Giannicolà Manni. The first two were painting approximately between 1495 and 1530, Manni continued to paint till 1544. All three felt the influence of the young Raffaelle, Manni in later life that of Andrea del Sarto, Eusebio was the most

closely connected with Pintoricchio. It is often difficult to distinguish between the work of Manni and Lo Spagna—for instance, a *Madonna and Saints* in the Perugia Gallery (No. 7) has been ascribed to both, and Mr. Berenson attributes to Lo Spagna the *St. Jerome* series in the Louvre (Nos. 1568–70), which are there assigned to Manni. The Perugia picture has a resemblance to an earlier work of Lo Spagna's in the same room (No. 19), with an ambitious but rather artificial background; both have an evening sky of subdued blue and primrose colour, and trees—a stone-pine and cypresses among them—crowning steep rocks. There is the usual water, and town beside it. Lo Spagna's *St. Jerome* of the Palazzo Colonna, Rome, has another typical landscape, with fine, evening light, and foreground flowers; the latter we see also in the Vatican *Nativity*, a feeble early work, with a dull sky. Another early *Nativity*, in the Louvre (No. 1539), has a somewhat artificial and stereotyped background. The graceful frescoes of the *Muses* in the Conservatori at Rome have fair, faint landscapes of vague green slopes, slenderest trees, and pale skies. We have a beautiful example of Lo Spagna's work in the *Gethsemane* of the National Gallery, with its lovely colour and effect of distance; in the foreground is a row of conventionalised rose-bushes, and lilies. His tendency to exaggerate the size of individual leaves is shown here, as (possibly) in the *Baptism;* the Rouen replica of this (another is at Vienna), and the other two Peruginesque pictures at

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THE CALL OF SS. PETER AND ANDREW

FROM THE FRESCO BY GHIRLANDAIO IN THE SISTINE CHAPEL, ROME. (*See p.* 135)

The distant perspective of hills and water receding to the horizon was an effect peculiarly associated with Ghirlandaio's immediate predecessors and contemporaries at Florence

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Rouen, are considered by Mr. Berenson to be probably Manni's. Lo Spagna is associated with Spoleto, and many of his works still exist there and in the neighbourhood, such as his figures of early Franciscans at the Porzioncola, Assisi.

There are several specimens of Manni's work at Perugia, notably the frescoes in the Chapel of the Cambio; these, however, have no landscape. His hand has been traced in the exquisite *Cenacolo di Foligno* at Florence, of uncertain Peruginesque authorship; it has a specially peaceful and spacious background — slight knolls, dotted over with fragile saplings, and meadow-paths—all framed in a vista of arches. A series of small panels, a *Baptism* and others, in the Louvre (Nos. 1369–72) are spoilt by having very little sky, and monotonous masses of unreal brown rock.

The most interesting picture with which Eusebio's name is connected is the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Perugia Gallery (No. 12), but the rival claims of Raffaelle and himself to be its author are difficult to settle. It was painted in 1506, and is a fine work, alike in rich, deep colour, and composition. No other known picture by Eusebio can compare with it (contrast, for instance, his feeble *Magi* in San Pietro, Perugia), whereas in colour and type the Bergamo *St. Sebastian* does show a resemblance to it; on the other hand, the figures are rather wooden for Raffaelle. (No argument, needless to say, should be based on the *Sanzio* said to be inscribed on one of the robes.) It

has the usual Umbrian background, in evening light. Possibly the fantastic rock on the left, and the foreground flowers—daisies, white campion, asplenium, and others—with their suggestion of Pintoricchio, may be one argument for Eusebio ; in any case, the picture is no unworthy representative of the Umbrian School after Perugino, and with it we must conclude.

CHAPTER VII

MID-RENAISSANCE PAINTERS IN FLORENCE: 1440–1520 (COSIMO ROSSELLI, DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO, BOTTICELLI, LORENZO DI CREDI, FILIPPINO LIPPI, PIERO DI COSIMO)

THE leading Florentine painters of the early Quattrocento all took their share in forming the illustrious band who glorified its later years —the inheritors of the full Renaissance, the elder contemporaries of Michelangelo. Their influence extended far beyond Florence. From Verrocchio's *bottega* alone, Perugino and Lionardo, "equal in age and in love," as Giovanni Santi sang of them, went forth to kindle Umbria and Lombardy, while the frescoes of the Sistine Chapel, so largely the work of this group, were studied by all who flocked to Rome. Verrocchio imparted much to men who were not his actual pupils, such as Ghirlandaio, Botticini, and Piero di Cosimo, as well as everything to such a faithful pupil and echo as Lorenzo di Credi. Lippo and the Pollaiuoli moulded Botticelli, Baldovinetti was the master of Ghirlandaio and Cosimo Rosselli; the latter, an inferior painter himself, was yet able to teach Piero, called after him "di Cosimo," and Fra

Bartolommeo. Flemish influence is apparent in the miniature-like detail of Lorenzo di Credi and Ghirlandaio, perhaps the result of a study of Ugo van der Goes' altarpiece, recently brought to Florence. Care for details of Nature rather than for scenery as a whole is evinced by Piero di Cosimo and Botticelli, the two who show the most poetical feeling for landscape; even they look on it as little more than a setting for their classical and allegorical scenes. There is, indeed, a certain academic and impersonal note, with a certain dryness and restraint, about the landscapes of all this group that distinguishes them from the Umbrians and Venetians, and marks their progress as on typically Florentine lines, form being always sought before colour, and " the humanities " before Nature.

COSIMO ROSSELLI [1439–1507]

A PASSING word is enough for Cosimo Rosselli, who is seen at his poor best in fresco, as in the Duomo at Lucca, and in the Sma. Annunziata, Florence, and the Sistine Chapel. Here the *Red Sea* fresco, formerly attributed to him, is now made over to his pupil Piero, who also, probably, had a hand in portions of his landscape backgrounds, such as the distant scene through the windows of the *Last Supper*. Cosimo's lavish use of gold and ultramarine won, according to Vasari, the Pope's especial approbation. In the *Sermon on the Mount* Christ stands on a low, grassy knoll in the foreground; a higher knoll is crowned by trees, and a spire; the sun appears behind dark hill-

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PRIMAVERA

FROM THE PICTURE BY BOTTICELLI IN THE ACCADEMIA, FLORENCE. (*See p.* 143)

The mysterious fascination of this Vision of Spring is enhanced by its decorative setting—a grove of myrtles and fruit trees, with flower-strewn grass

slopes on the horizon, towards which a pale river flows, crossed by a bridge. The blue sky is varied by a hard mass of grey cloud, and some large, floppy birds. Air and life are wanting, and the heavy green of hills and foliage becomes monotonous. The *Golden Calf* fresco has similar trees, water, and sky; a palm, and a rocky crag topped by grass and trees; the middle distance is its best part.

DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO (BIGORDI) [1449–1494]

Ghirlandaio's obvious defects—his Philistinism, his prosaic mind, his display of dexterity, and affection for pompous trivialities—have been so often dwelt upon that it is pleasant to be able to consider him as a landscapist, in which aspect he shows his most simple and genuine side. We do not expect from him the magic glamour of a Dosso, or the emotion of a Botticelli or a Tintoretto; he gives us landscapes matter-of-fact, but truthful, treated with all the care of his master Baldovinetti, and with the knowledge of perspective and atmosphere gained by Verrocchio. Their colouring, as contrasted with that of his figures, is quiet, sometimes too cold, emphasising the Flemish effect to which we have already alluded. This is notably the case in one of the most beautiful, that of the altarpiece in Sta. Maria degli Innocenti (not entirely by his own hand). Here a limpid river flows between rounded hills, dotted with trees, to the horizon, with its grey-blue mountains; the Valdarno

may be suggested. Some trees have dark foliage, others feathery, one is bare. Shepherds and sheep are seen in the fields, which are flecked with gold. A town on the left contains an amphitheatre, and, behind it, is seen the Gothic spire of a church. The sky is clear and pale. Violet-leaves and a strawberry-plant in blossom fill the immediate foreground. We see them again in the Uffizi *tondo* of the *Magi*, and an iris and some daisy-like flowers in the picture of the same subject in the Academy, Florence. The former (No. 1295) has a grey-blue sky, flushing pale rose over the hills on the horizon, and unreal, greenish rocks touched with gilt. Water is seen in the centre, with a free representation of Venice. Such reminiscences seem to have pleased Ghirlandaio, as he introduces Pisa similarly, with her Leaning Tower, Baptistery, and Duomo, into one of his frescoes in Sta. Trinità, Florence, and the Pantheon and Arch of Severus into his Louvre *Visitation* (No. 1321). The inscribed sarcophagus, used as a manger in the Academy *Magi*, is another instance of his classical studies. Here the procession winds along a rocky path on a rounded hill, a distant blue mountain is seen, and a river and town. Sheep lie under a bare tree with a thick, gnarled trunk; other trees have massed foliage, touched with light. An oak near the shed has sparse leaves of exaggerated size. The clouds in the pale blue sky are thin and hard; some reflect the golden light that breaks through them. In both the Louvre pictures (Nos. 1321 and 1322) the precipitous blue mountains

are quite impossible; both have a clear, light sky. Rocks and water are seen in the latter (the *Old Man and Boy*), as again in the Berlin *Madonna and Child*, and *Resurrection*. In the latter, paths wind among the hills, and the receding distance is good.

In fresco Ghirlandaio allotted an important place to landscape; the spacious background of his *Calling of SS. Peter and Andrew* in the Sistine Chapel competes with Botticelli's *Korah* for the second place in attractiveness after the Pintoricchios. A grey river or lake, flecked with foam, recedes from the foreground to the horizon; its shores are low and wooded; some tall, dark trees stand out, and steep, grey hills rise one behind another. The nearer rocks are grass-covered, and crowned by trees; they resemble those we have noticed in other painters of the period, derived probably from Verrocchio or the Flemings. The hills are conventional in shape, and all the colouring, including the sky, is too dull, but the trees are naturalistic and the perspective good. A town is seen on either side.

The *Cenacolo* in the small Refectory at San Marco is full of charming detail, such as the palms and orange and lemon trees seen through the arches, the symbolical peacock and dove in the windows, and the hawks pursuing other birds. Ghirlandaio painted the same subject in the Refectory at Ognissanti in closely similar fashion. His *Scenes from the Life of St. Francis* in Sta. Trinità (Sassetti Chapel) are perhaps his highest achievement, and they must have been greatly

enhanced by their landscapes. In the *Stigmata* scene the sky and foreground are now sadly damaged, and in the *Death*, the background ; one can only see dimly mountains, trees, and a plain. But the background of the *Stigmata*, with its lofty crags and distant mountains, its trees and buildings, is very fine. Water is crossed by a bridge, and the town on the shore is, as we have said, Pisa. One of the nearer trees is an olive, and two beautiful hinds are seen in one corner. In the *Miraculous Restoration of a Child* the façade of the Church and the Ponte Sta. Trinità are introduced. These frescoes date from 1483–1485 ; those of Sta. Maria Novella were begun in the following year. They were probably executed in great part by assistants ; many of the backgrounds and skies are now unfortunately damaged. This is the case with one of the most elaborate of the open-air backgrounds, the *Departure of the young St. John Baptist.* The rocks in the *Baptism* are very artificial. A charming glimpse of blue mountains and green fields is seen through a window of the *Annunciation*, and the mountains of the *Visitation* are fine ; water and a towered town complete this scene. In others one sees cypresses and fig-trees, and a bramble trailing its fruit-laden branches over a wall.

Some ten years earlier Ghirlandaio had adorned the Collegiata Church of the hill-top Commune of San Gimignano " delle belle torri " with frescoes from the life of her humble patroness, the maiden Sta. Fina. In one of these, representing the Saint's death, his

homely realism shows itself in the careful rendering of the kitchen accessories—a brass salver, decanter, and some pomegranates on a dish. Two black mice on the floor are not forgotten! Through the open door are seen rose-bushes and a distant mountain; through a window, tree-crowned cliffs under a cloudy sky. In another fresco some of the towers of San Gimignano are introduced in the background.

BASTIANO MAINARDI [*fl.* 1450–1513]

From San Gimignano came Mainardi, the brother-in-law and assistant of Ghirlandaio, who copied his style closely. In his *Madonna with the Holy Children and Angels* of the Louvre (No. 1367), Mainardi introduces a distant and freely adapted view of Venice, in pale blue-grey. The Doges' Palace, San Marco, and the Campanile are seen, with gondolas on the canal in front. On the other side of the picture is another town, with hills behind it; towers rise from it, and the tall, Flemish-looking spire of a church. In a *Madonna* in the National Gallery steep blue mountains are seen, with water, and, in front of them, some buildings of Rome—the Colosseum, Arch of Severus, Pantheon, and Castle of Sant' Angelo.

ALESSANDRO FILIPEPI (BOTTICELLI) [1444–1510]

From the prosaic industry of Ghirlandaio, we turn with glad anticipation to Sandro Botticelli's inspired and magnetic genius. Landscape, however, was not

its true province. The well-known anecdote in which Lionardo quotes "il nostro Botticelli" as saying that a sponge full of colours thrown at a wall would produce a landscape proves that he regarded this branch of art somewhat perfunctorily. This is less the case in his earlier pictures and Sistine Chapel frescoes than in his later work, but it is always decorative details, such as those of the *Venus* or *Primavera*, that he most loves. His instinct for line was gratified by the straight, slender stems and pointed leaves of a myrtle or orange thicket, or the curves of a river-bank or sea-coast. His mystical temperament delighted in such symbolism as that of the Berlin *Madonna in an Arbour*, or of the wheat and grapes offered to the Holy Child in the Chigi picture. His gift as an illustrator of literature finds expression no less in the *Venus* and *Primavera* than in his "pictorial commentary" on the "Divina Commedia."

Botticelli's flowers are invariably exquisite, none more so than the hedge of crimson roses in the Louvre *Madonna with the Holy Children*, where some of the roses glow through the translucent halo of the Infant Christ. A little decorative touch like the springing of the separate grass-blades in the foreground of our *Mars and Venus*, or the light filtering through dark boughs on to the grass beneath them in our *Nativity*, reveals his keen perception. His landscapes are often hard in outline; sometimes they lack atmosphere. Their lighting is as a rule simple and direct, without any of the chiaroscuro that adds so much to those

of Lionardo or Correggio. Subdued light where it would be least expected is extraordinarily effective in the melancholy dimness of the wood where Flora and Zephyr revel, or in the "sunless dawn" of the *Birth of Venus*, where, as Pater observed, "a later painter would have cloyed you with sunshine." Contrast is strikingly employed in the *Calumny*, where one's eye passes beyond the agitated group of figures in the hall to the line of peaceful, sunlit sea outside. In one instance where Botticelli does ignore detail, the *predella* panel of *St. Augustine and the Child* (Academy, No. 162), nothing can be more beautiful than the simply treated harmony of sea, sky, and shore.

Botticelli's first landscapes were on the model of the Pollaiuoli, but show ease and spontaneity as compared with their laboured accuracy. Thus we see a view of the Valdarno type behind the *St. Sebastian* at Berlin—a work entirely in the Pollaiuolo manner—and again in the *Youth holding a Medal* of the Uffizi. The river flowing between hills in the Chigi and Ambrosiana (Milan) pictures is probably suggested by the Arno. The *Judith* of the Uffizi (No. 1156), another early picture, has a background full of careful Pollaiuolesque detail, on a small scale. Judith holds an olive-bough and treads on flat rocks; small plants wedge themselves between the stones; hills, fields, and water form the scenery; an ilex stands in the foreground. The blue sky is flecked with white cloudlets.

Flemish architecture is introduced into several backgrounds such as the *St. Sebastian*, and the *Korah*

and *Temptation* frescoes in the Sistine Chapel, but classical buildings occur also, sometimes in the same work, as, for example, the Arch of Constantine in the *Korah*. Ruined arches and columns attracted Botticelli, in common with many of his contemporaries; we see them in several of his *Magi* pictures—for example, those at the Uffizi (No. 1286), at St. Petersburg, and in the National Gallery. The first of these, painted about 1477, is especially interesting for its likenesses of the Medici family; it also has one of Botticelli's finest landscapes. Misty blue hills and trees are seen in the distance, a river winds through a plain at the foot of a nearer green hill, dark plants and grasses sprout among the rocks and stones, and a peacock is perched on a wall. The sky is pale blue. The *tondo* of the *Magi* in the National Gallery, until recently ascribed to Filippino, has also a peacock perched on a broken column, and is full of picturesque details, such as the dark wood and bounding stags. Gothic towers and spires rise from a city; they are no doubt due to Flemish influence. The † St. Petersburg picture has several similar features; there is a sense of space in its broad plain and low hills, dotted with trees, among which paths wind. The trees in the middle distance are very fine; the immediate foreground is strewn with slabs of stone and rock.

Among Botticelli's other sacred pictures one may briefly mention the following.—A companion panel (Academy, No. 157) to the *St. Augustine and the Child*, of which the subject is the Eucharistic *Ecce Homo*, has

Hanfstaengl

MEETING OF THE HOLY CHILDREN

FROM THE PICTURE BY A FOLLOWER OF LIPPO LIPPI IN THE KAISER FRIEDRICH MUSEUM, BERLIN. (*See p.* 146)

This attractive picture, formerly ascribed to Lippo himself, shows his favourite wood of crowded, slender stems, but with an added effect of light in the distance beyond. The graceful deer and the flowers will be noted

[illegible]

a delicate little landscape of fields, hills, and trees.—The familiar *tondo* of the *Magnificat* (Uffizi, No. 1267 *bis*), where a stream winds through a level green landscape, with trees, under a cloudless sky, and a tower is seen on a hill.—The small *tondo Madonna* of the Ambrosiana, Milan, already mentioned, of clear, lovely colour, and delicate workmanship. It dates from about 1492. Its crimson pavilion-curtains are drawn aside to show the pale blue sky, river and hills, with groves of dark trees on either side, and one tall, very slender tree in the centre, nearer. A lily in a vase stands in the foreground.—The Berlin *Madonna in an Arbour*, originally painted in 1485 for the Church of Santo Spirito, Florence, with its symbolic palm, olive, cypress, and myrtle, its vases of roses and lilies, exquisitely treated (*cf.* p. 8). It is warm in colour. The foreground grass is full of small flowers.—The *Annunciation* of the Uffizi (No. 1316), executed between 1488–90, and largely a school-piece, hard in colour and wanting in atmosphere. Through an opening in the centre is seen a river in flat, pale blue, its low banks dotted with trees. Blue hills rise behind, and a solitary tree, tall, thin, and Peruginesque, stands out against the sky.—The *Nativity* of the National Gallery, one of Sandro's latest works, expressing with force and pathos his feelings as a *Piagnone* after Savonarola's death. It recalls his master Lippo in the sombre, close-packed trees of its little wood, and its grass-covered rocks, piled up in flat layers. The light in the clear sky and on the

grass is exquisite. The welcoming angels hold boughs of myrtle.

Botticelli executed three frescoes in the Sistine Chapel in the year 1481–2, besides parts of the figures of Popes. The *Moses and the Daughters of Jethro*, with its beautiful group at the well, shows that he could sympathise with pastoral life, but the background is not successfully composed. A grassy knoll rises in the centre, with a group of trees, dark-leaved and mostly smooth and straight-stemmed; a similar knoll with trees is seen in the *Temptation* (or, as it might better be called, the *Purification of a Leper*), with a rock precipice on one side and a lake on the other. A cypress, firs, and other trees are dotted about, including the two significant oaks (*cf.* p. 7). The third fresco, the *Destruction of Korah*, has a fine and spacious landscape, which has every appearance of being a real scene, studied from Nature. Behind the Roman arch in the centre stretches a lake or estuary, between hilly shores, with a few trees; a gleam of light falls on one bank, and there is pale light also over the horizon.

A coast-line, such as the above, with water, had a great charm for Botticelli, as we have already indicated. We see it again in his *Pallas and the Centaur* of the Pitti Palace (*cf.* p. 7), and in the low shore, curving into little bays, of the lake-like sea of his *Birth of Venus* —one of the noble group of classical subjects which still remains for our consideration.

The *Birth of Venus* is the very embodiment of all

that is most characteristic of Florentine art; its austere and intellectual beauty holds one spellbound. As a piece of interpretative illustration it is superb. But, so far as the background is concerned, we must put aside all ideas of landscape, and admit that it is decoration only. It is quite flat, with no atmosphere or perspective; the white V-shaped lines on the water indicating ripples are as arbitrary symbols as any employed by the Giotteschi. Grass is represented by rounded gilt flakes on the ground, and the leaves and stems of the snowy-blossomed orange-trees are touched with gold, the falling roses also. The same delicate pink roses form the girdle of the nymph who welcomes the goddess; her white robe is sprinkled with blue cornflowers, Venus' red mantle with daisies and buttercups; a violet grows at her feet, and bulrushes are seen on the margin of the water.

The *Primavera* dates from a few years earlier, probably about 1480. Its background is again highly decorative, more rich and elaborate than that of the *Venus*, and with more softness and depth. In a wood of green twilight and mysterious glamour, a dense canopy of orange-foliage is lit by ruddy globes of fruit and silver stars of blossom (Uccello's primitive orange-hedge finds its glorification indeed!) Interlaced with myrtle and fir, this foliage is clearly defined against the pale turquoise sky, which shows between the tall, straight tree-stems. Save that

A light of laughing flowers along the grass is spread,

this wood scarcely suggests the Spring, nor does the pensive Lady, who pauses with hand uplifted, listening, perchance, to the secret music of Earth's awakening. The very Graces are tinged with sadness. The theme is classical, but we are far indeed in spirit from the joyous paganism of Venice, or even from the exulting note of the two poetical passages that Botticelli set forth to illustrate—Politian's

> Ove tutto lascivo drieto a Flora
> Zephiro vola e la verde herba infiora ;

and, more especially, the magnificent lines of Lucretius ("De Rer. Nat." v. 737–740) :

> it uer et Venus, et Veneris praenuntius ante
> pennatus graditur, zephyri uestigia propter
> Flora quibus mater praespargens ante uiai
> cuncta coloribus egregiis et odoribus opplet.

From Politian Botticelli took the details of Flora's robe, where the flowers, like those in the grass, are most delicately painted—cornflowers, roses, pinks, daisies, wild strawberry, grape-hyacinths, iris, and others.

The *Mars and Venus* of the National Gallery, to which allusion has already been made, has again a thick myrtle wood, behind which stretches a wide green plain. The vigilant goddess contrasted with the sleeping Mars, "tereti cervice reposta," was doubtless also suggested by some poem, possibly the earlier Lucretian passage itself (i. 31–37).

Botticelli's illustrations to Dante involve, of course,

W. A. Mansell & Co.

THE DEATH OF PROCRIS

FROM THE PICTURE BY PIERO DI COSIMO IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY. (*See p.* 152)

In this charming idyll Nature is brought into sympathy with the human story ; birds and beasts are faithfully portrayed on the low shores of the lake

a certain amount of Nature-painting, as in the beautiful pastoral scene of the meeting with Matilda. He shows imagination based on natural objects in such a drawing as that of the *Wood of the Suicides*, where "a tangled network of lopped and stunted thorns, with sparse, holly-like leaves," [1] represents the ghastly, human trees. There is an elaborate drawing of the *Mount of Purgatory*. The illustrations are mostly in outline, some touched with colour.

Pictures in Botticelli's manner are to be found in most galleries. One in the Borghese is a rather charming example, from its wealth of flowers. Roses are seen through a transparent halo, as in the Louvre picture, vases of pink and white roses stand behind the Madonna, and the child-angels wear wreaths of white jessamine, roses, and blue cornflowers. Another is a *Madonna and Child* of the National Gallery, until recently ascribed to Filippino, with dark trees against a clear turquoise sky and Gothic buildings behind them; an exquisitely painted bowl of white roses and jessamine is set in its foreground.

JACOPO DEL SELLAIO [1442–1493]

Two among Botticelli's many imitators may be mentioned, Jacopo del Sellaio and Botticini. Both were prolific painters, many of whose works have passed under Sandro's own name, such as the *Reclining Venus* of the National Gallery, now assigned to Sellaio.

[1] Horne, "Botticelli," *cf.* for complete description, pp. 190–254. Nearly all the drawings are at Berlin.

Both had an inclination for decorative landscape in the style of their city and period. Sellaio's *cassone* panel of the *Story of Cupid and Psyche* [1] has a wide-stretching, distant background in pale colours—a plain, bounded by low hills, through which a river winds. In the centre foreground is a pile of rocks, overhung with grass, such as Botticelli and Ghirlandaio delighted in; a small circular shrine, with a flat dome borne on columns, stands on a slight eminence, and some cypresses, resembling green brushes, are in a stiff row. If the *Meeting of the Holy Children* at Berlin may really be assigned to Sellaio, he had made considerable progress on his master Lippo's lines, and shows poetical feeling. (*See* Plate XIX.)

FRANCESCO BOTTICINI [1446–1498]

Botticini gives us one of the finest Valdarno landscapes in the Verrocchio manner in his *Assumption* of the National Gallery (so long ascribed to Botticelli), with its view of Florence. It is still too map-like, and the same may be said of the *Tobit* at Bergamo (Morelli Collection, No. 33), where a pale blue stream is encircled by low, rounded hills, with dark trees and winding paths. The colour of the sky and water is good. The *Tobit* of the Academy, Florence, like that of the National Gallery, is also probably by Botticini. A charming *Madonna and Child* in the Pitti (No. 347) has a low, marble enclosure, with a hedge of red and white roses round the figures; cypresses stand in a

[1] Lent by Mr. C. Brinsley Marlay to the Grafton Galleries, 1911.

row behind, and the grass is sprinkled with flowers. Blue mountains and water are seen in the distance. A *tondo Madonna* by Botticini, with landscape, was recently exhibited at Burlington House.

LORENZO DI CREDI [1456–1537]

Lorenzo di Credi's gentle and devout nature is reflected in his paintings, which are almost entirely of religious subjects. Like Botticelli and Fra Bartolommeo, he took his stand with Savonarola and the *Piagnoni*. His fellow-pupils under Verrocchio, Lionardo and Perugino, left their traces on his work. His colouring is clear and transparent, at times too bright, and lacking in shadow; his finish is enamel-like. His landscapes are placid and pleasant, depicting gardens or park-like country, with clear water and groves of low, rounded trees under a pale blue sky (*cf.* p. 13). Hills in light colours are often seen on the horizon, and a vase of flowers stands in the foreground. The *tondo* shape was a favourite with him. Lorenzo sometimes introduces fine Renaissance architecture, like the portico in the Uffizi *Annunciation*. His rocks are split squarely, as we see them, for instance, in his *St. Mary Magdalene* at Berlin, and *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Academy, Florence.

Landscapes of the above description, charming as they are, tend to be artificial and monotonous. It will suffice therefore to mention a few typical examples. The Uffizi *Annunciation* is one of the loveliest, framed

in three arches behind the figures. It is curious that the scene on the left does not fit on the same level with those in the centre and on the right. Others in the Uffizi are: two *tondi* (Nos. 24 and 1528), with trees reflected in the water in the former; a *Man's Portrait* (No. 3461) and *Christ and the Magdalene* (No. 1311).—The same subject, in the Louvre (No. 1264). Both these last have carefully treated bushes and flowers; in the Louvre picture, light falls on distant water.—An *Adoration of the Shepherds* and a *Nativity* in the Academy, Florence (Nos. 92 and 94); two *tondi* in the Borghese Gallery, Rome (Nos. 433 and 439); and two pictures in the National Gallery (Nos. 593 and 648).

FILIPPINO LIPPI [1457–1504]

The son of Fra Filippo and the favourite pupil of Botticelli, Filippino inherited from both a romantic, emotional outlook on life, and a love of natural beauty. He followed his master's types, exaggerating their long, swaying figures, fluttering draperies, and melancholy expression. His landscapes, as Morelli has pointed out, are less idealised than Botticelli's, darker in tone, and more directly studied from Tuscan scenery. Exaggeration, however, is shown in them too, especially in their rocks, and Filippino's architecture tends to become over-ornate, as in the frescoes of the Strozzi Chapel, in Sta. Maria Novella, Florence. It is far more stately and simple in those at Sta. Maria sopra Minerva, Rome. These same Strozzi frescoes

Plate 21

Anderson

DETAIL FROM THE MADONNA ENTHRONED OF LORENZO COSTA IN SAN GIOVANNI IN MONTE, BOLOGNA. (*See p.* 156)

A landscape panel in this picture has been specially enlarged for this book, and shows Costa's delicate miniature-like treatment of scenery of the Umbrian type

are crowded with reminiscences of Filippino's study of antiques—helmets, columns, reliefs, and so forth, all of which won Vasari's ingenuous admiration. Several sketches made by him of ancient buildings in Rome are still extant.

Lovely as Filippino's colours often are, their blending is not invariably felicitous, and his landscapes sometimes lack atmosphere and space. In the *Madonna and Saints* in San Domenico, Bologna, for instance, the side-arch that is filled in would have been better left open. This same overcrowding is noticeable in one of Filippino's earliest and best-known works, the exquisite *Vision of St. Bernard*, in the Badia, Florence. By comparing it with Perugino's version of the same subject (*cf.* p. 114), one realises how confused and limited is its background, mainly composed of fantastic, grass-topped rocks. There is some sky—pale blue with a greyish cloud—and a little undulating valley does recede in one corner, but these are not enough to prevent the feeling that the background is pressing in on the action. The background of the altarpiece in Santo Spirito, Florence, is full of local interest; framed in some rounded arches is seen one of the gaunt gates or *barriere* of Florence, with the hills, covered with trees and houses, beyond. A man has alighted from his horse at the door of his home, and stoops to greet a child; this is probably Tanai de' Nerli himself, the donor, who is represented kneeling, with his wife, at the Madonna's feet.

Filippino was still under thirty when he was called

upon to finish Masaccio's decoration of the Brancacci Chapel in the Carmine Church (*cf.* p. 55); between the frescoes of *SS. Peter and Paul before the Proconsul* and the *Martyrdom of St. Peter* he gives a glimpse of distant landscape—a green knoll, crowned by aspens and an elm, tall and delicate, being seen through an arch in the centre. The sky is light and colourless. The *Magi* of the Uffizi (No. 1257) has careful foreground details of clover, buttercups, hawkweed, and corn. Filippino's fantastic rocks, overhung with green, and some tall, sombre trees, lead the eye to the edge of the sea, whose introduction won for this landscape the enthusiastic praise of Swinburne. Of Filippino the poet writes: "No careful and grateful student of this painter can overlook his special fondness for seasides; the tenderness and pleasure with which he touches upon the green opening of their chines or coombes, the clear low ranges of their rocks." This picture, he continues, bears witness to it. "Beyond the farthest meadows and behind the tallest trees, far-off downs and cliffs open seaward, and farther yet pure narrow spaces intervene of gracious and silent sea" ("Essays and Studies," p. 332). Unfortunately the over-bright colours of the figure-group considerably spoil this landscape. The *Madonna adoring the Child* (Uffizi, No. 1549), on the other hand, is beautifully harmonious in colour and arrangement, its dark trees set against a peaceful turquoise sky, its grass gemmed with daisies, clover, and other small flowers. Mr. Berenson would deprive Filippino of this lovely

work, ascribing it, with several others, to his supposed "Amico di Sandro."

Filippino introduces the sea again, gently rippling between rocks, in his *Worship of the Golden Calf* (shown in the Grafton Galleries, 1911), and yet again in his *Allegory of Music* at Berlin. A † *Pietà* at Munich has a carefully treated landscape of rocks and hills, with water and delicate trees.

The great *Madonna with SS. Dominic and Jerome* of the National Gallery indefinably suggests the chill sadness of late autumn.[1] The grass and small leaves in the foreground are brown, an ilex and other sombre trees stand out against the wan sky, a grey-blue plain stretches to the horizon. The day is far spent, the year wanes apace, and the pale Mother is grief-stricken and infinitely weary.

PIERO DI COSIMO [1462–1521]

Cosimo Rosselli's pupil Piero had the advantage of studying the work of his master's greater contemporaries, including Lionardo himself, and the study was not unfruitful. His colour is pleasant; his landscapes have more of the Umbrian than the Tuscan character, usually representing a placid blue lake, with low shores, and groups of slender trees. Sometimes, but not invariably, the lake suggests Trasimene. In spaciousness

[1] This, I think, cannot be gainsaid in spite of the young birds in their nest in the ilex. The ilex is the variety with serrated leaves. At the base of the characteristic rock-pile on the left, St. Jerome's lion is seen engaging a bear.

and soft distances Piero also recalls the Umbrians; in his fantastic rocks, Filippino. Fantastic too are the monsters that he loved to devise. In his pagan feeling for the gods and wild things of the woodlands he reminds one of Signorelli's great picture at Berlin—Piero too was a worshipper of the rustic Pan, he too had been in Arcady, and, in such a picture as the *Procris*, takes us thither with him. None but a true animal-lover could have painted the wistful dog guarding the dead Procris, or the doves and the white rabbit cuddling up to Cupid, in the Berlin *Venus and Mars*. In this picture Piero competes with Botticelli, and, in his Nature-setting at any rate, fairly rivals him. We see his favourite sunlit lake, its low shores edged with trees; other trees on a slight slope stand out against the sky, myrtle-bushes are covered with starry blossom, and flowers dot the grass. A solitary peak rises in the distance, a fantastic rock in the nearer foreground. In his *Adoration of the Child*, also at Berlin, a rock is seen in the centre, with a flat landscape stretching on either side. The National Gallery *Death of Procris* resembles the *Venus and Mars* in shape, and to some extent in composition. A lake is again the chief feature. It is full of tender feeling, of sense of space, of imagination—as shown in the faun—and observation of Nature—as shown in the dog, the pelican, and the flowering plants.

Two series of classical scenes, the story of *Perseus* in the Uffizi, and of *Peleus and Thetis* in the Louvre, give Piero full scope for his romantic invention and

his favourite scenery. The latter (Nos. 1416 A and B) are the better composed, and please by wide distances and diffused light. The lake, which has a rocky islet or promontory, is marred by its impossible curly waves, and the rock-piles and grottoes are again fantastic. Blue hills are seen in the distance; the leaves of the tree-clumps are in places touched with gilt; the sky in the second panel shades from greenish blue to pale pink. The Uffizi *Perseus* (No. 83) shows a flat, green lake, with flat, yellowish shores; bulrushes grow in the foreground, and an horrific monster emerges from the midst of the water. This picture and the other two of the series have distant hills, and brownish foregrounds of tufted grass and trees.

A large picture of *Hylas and the Nymphs*, belonging to Mr. R. H. Benson, and exhibited in the Grafton Galleries (1911), is chiefly indebted to its Nature-setting for its charm, the figures being very clumsy. Its colouring is harmonious and subdued, perhaps slightly faded. The sky is clear and light, with a soft cloud tinged with grey. A distant blue mountain and rock-pile on the right are conventional in form, but the fine trees, whose foliage stands out clearly against the sky, and the flowers in the grassy meadow, are more naturalistic. The beautiful bush of broom near a palm-tree should be noticed, and the small plants in the foreground—shepherd's purse, dandelion, scarlet poppy, clover, spurge, daisies, campions, and others—also the wild roses and purple iris carried by the nymphs. A dove, a duck, and other birds are also seen.

In a *tondo* of the *Madonna and Child with Angels* in the Borghese Gallery, Rome (No. 343), a pale blue sky and far hills are visible through the door of the shed; on the plank above it sits a white dove. A peasant is seen driving oxen. (The surface of this picture is damaged.) Piero's so-called † *Bella Simonetta* (really a *Cleopatra*) in the Musée, Chantilly, has a landscape setting of cliffs edging a lake or the sea, and fine trees, one of which is bare.

Several of Piero's drawings have landscapes. In the British Museum there is a delicate pen-sketch of Ariadne sleeping in a meadow at the water's edge, with some slender, bare saplings. In the Uffizi are two sketches of St. Jerome in a rocky wilderness, the more important of which Mr. Berenson describes as the "largest and most romantic landscape study by a Florentine Quattrocentist now remaining" ("Drawings of the Florentine Painters," p. 131).

CHAPTER VIII

PAINTERS OF BOLOGNA, 1460–1540 (COSTA, FRANCIA, ERCOLE GRANDI, DOSSO DOSSI). CORREGGIO

LORENZO COSTA [1460–1535]

LORENZO COSTA left Ferrara in 1483 and settled in Bologna, where he worked in the same goldsmith's *bottega* as Francia. It was through his influence that his elder comrade turned to painting, and the two men resemble one another closely in their landscapes, which are almost Umbrian in type. Francia in his turn, or perhaps Costa's residence in Tuscany, would seem to have given him an amenity which the earlier Ferrarese had not possessed, degenerating sometimes into almost insipid weakness, as in his National Gallery polyptych. The charm of this picture lies in its great expanse of forget-me-not blue sky, with delicate, brownish trees against it; seen through an open space under the throne, low shores encircle a blue lake, with a flat island. This same device of removing a panel, as it were, to show the landscape occurs in one of Costa's splendid altarpieces in San Giovanni in Monte, Bologna; it is hardly legitimate, but lends great charm to the little scene thus framed, and Bellini

adopted it in his altarpiece at Pesaro (*cf.* p. 219). The scene in San Giovanni (side-chapel) is a typical Costa landscape of water encircled by hills, grassy slopes, and feathery trees, in very attractive colouring. Costa's other picture in the church, set in a high position over the chief Altar, looks splendid even from the west end, when the light streams in. It is large, and seems larger by reason of its receding distance, which has been well rendered. A plain stretches to the horizon, broken by low trees and water, and fading into mist. Taller trees stand against the pale blue sky, and rocks are piled up on either side. It is the distance and the trees that form the attraction of the *Court of Isabella d'Este*, now in the Louvre, painted originally for the Duchess of Mantua after Costa had become her Court painter. It is with reference to this picture that Mr. Berenson [1] has praised Costa's landscapes, "which, without being in any sense serious studies, are among the loveliest painted in his day." He goes on to describe "their shimmering hazes, their basking rivers running silver under diffused sunshine, their clumps of fine-stemmed trees with feathery foliage, their suggestion of delicious life out of doors." This Louvre landscape, however, is rather airless, and its grey mountains are unreal; atmosphere is lacking also in the *Sposalizio* of the Pinacoteca, Bologna, where we see again Costa's favourite pale blue sky and water, brownish foreground, and tall tree. St. Joseph's leafy bough, which should have been an important

[1] "North Italian Painters," p. 68.

Hanfstaengl

THE MADONNA IN THE ROSEGARDEN

FROM THE PICTURE BY FRANCIA IN THE ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH. (*See p.* 161)

This picture shows Francia's approach to the Umbrian type of landscape, with feathery trees and delicate flower details

feature, is almost lost against a dark arch behind. The *Magi* of the Brera (No. 429) has a conventional landscape, spacious and evidently painted with care; it is of the familiar type, the distance, as often, deserving special praise. It originally formed part of a polyptych painted in collaboration with Francia (*cf.* p. 159).

The great Church of San Giacomo Maggiore in Bologna, with its adjacent Oratory of Sta. Cecilia, shows Costa as a frescoist. In the series of scenes from the Life of the Saint with which several painters covered the Oratory walls, Costa's landscape settings in the *St. Cecilia distributing Alms* and the *Conversion of St. Valerian* rival Francia's, and here too it is in trees and distances that he excels. The scenery is, no doubt, as suggested by Morelli, that of the Val Reno; the frescoes by Aspertini and the other lesser artists have backgrounds of much the same type and scale of colour, so that a harmonious whole is presented in a way that it is not, for example, in the Sistine Chapel. These green and pleasant landscapes, and the rose-crowns of the Saint, the classical buildings introduced by both Costa and Aspertini, and the varied foliage—palm, aspen, fir, cypress, and olive—are all gently faded like their ghostlike figures and pale skies. They contrast with the sterner, wilder scenery of Costa's *Triumphs of Life and Death* in the Bentivoglio Chapel, San Giacomo. In these the sky is largely taken up by circles full of figures, but, in the *Death*, faint sunset light is well given, and is reflected by a sheet of still

water, melting into the horizon between grey hills. The circle in the *Life* is filled by a curious allegory; incidents of actual life, such as ploughing, are taking place among rocks, trees, and water, strangely varied by others of a more startling nature, such as a murder, the appearance of a dragon, and a human sacrifice. It is curious to see the elephant introduced.

FRANCESCO RAIBOLINI (FRANCIA) [1450–1517]

Francesco Raibolini, surnamed Francia after the goldsmith to whom he was first apprenticed, turned to painting in early middle life, probably, as we have seen, under the influence of Costa. His relationship with him was rather that of a friend, giving and taking, than of a pupil; he may have received some more definite instruction from Francesco Cossa. No one studying Francia's work can doubt the immense influence exerted by the Umbrians upon him, alike in landscape and figures—an impression which is confirmed by the interesting discovery of Dr. Williamson ("Francia," p. 41) that Perugino was himself in Bologna, with some of his pictures, about 1497—the very period when Francia's painting most nearly approximates to his. Francia never quite attained to Perugino's spaciousness and ethereal beauty in landscape; his skies and scenery are apt to be hard, and too definite in colour, though the former are often full of light. The difference may be partly owing to that in the local surroundings of the two painters.

Francia's Delicate Details

Francia's painting retains many of the characteristics of the goldsmith—he signs his pictures "Aurifex"—its enamel-like finish and dainty detail, which are well exemplified in the Bologna *Nativity* (No. 81). Almost Flemish is the scrupulous care with which are painted the rippling stream, with its low foot-bridge, and the wicker paling beyond, the bare pollarded willow, the two finches on a leafless bush, and the delicate cluster of potentilla leaves in the foreground. This whole landscape is typical of Francia, with its blue mountains, (his scenery is more definitely mountainous, as opposed to hilly, than the Umbrians'), its grass-covered rocks, and the formal rows of short, square-set trees, mingled with others of the feathery Umbrian type. Their trunks here are absurdly slender, as they stand out against the sky, but their foliage is exquisitely delicate; one is an oak, and one of the shepherds wears an oak-wreath. The broken classical portico to the left, from which shrubs sprout, is often seen in Francia, as are the finches, of which he was evidently specially fond. The ox and ass here are so minute that they can only have been intended as symbols. The colouring is unpleasing, with none of Francia's usual mellowness; it may in the first place have been adapted to Costa's, this picture having originally formed part of their joint polyptych, but it has in any case been spoilt by touching since. Francia here and elsewhere adopts the device of powdering some of his foliage with gilt. He often paints reflections in water carefully.

The Pinacoteca at Bologna is rich in Francia's work;

an *Annunciation* (No. 371) is rather similar to the last in colour and landscape details. Of quieter and more harmonious colour, suggestive of autumn, are the *Madonna between SS. Paul and Francis* (No. 372) and the *Crucifixion* (No. 373). Their cloudy skies are rather sad, their trees and grass brownish—the trees with Francia's favourite fernlike foliage in the *Crucifixion*, and one wind-blown. They have pale blue hills, and water between low, wooded shores. A grey church and town occupy one corner of the *Crucifixion*, with a reddish crag opposite them. A long panel, with a mystical representation of the *Nativity* and *Crucifixion* (No. 82), has a large, elaborate landscape of the usual type, its prettiest features being a lovely blue stream and the dips in the long mountain ridge ; these last occur again very effectively in the altarpiece of the Duomo, Ferrara, and against the fine, cloudy sky in the *Baptism* at Dresden.

Several of the churches in Bologna contain splendid altarpieces by Francia, with landscapes, notably that of the Bentivoglio Chapel, in San Giacomo Maggiore, with its very delicate trees. That of San Vitale is finely composed, but very hard, with its unreal pink and yellow clouds. Francia's frescoes in Sta. Cecilia (1505–6), faded as they are, are greatly enhanced by their landscape settings. The first scene, the *Marriage of the Saint*, is by his own hand, and has beautiful trees, and an admirably rendered misty space between hill-slopes, on one of which a town is faintly seen. Another † fresco by Francia at Bologna, in the

Anderson

CIRCE

FROM THE PICTURE BY DOSSO DOSSI IN THE BORGHESE GALLERY, ROME. (*See p.* 165)

Dosso's sombre forests, shot through with vivid light, and his romantic castles among the trees, suggest the dark, rich enchantment of this subject

Podestà Communale, represents the B. Virgin protecting the city during an earthquake, and gives an interesting view of Bologna, with its Leaning Towers and several identifiable churches.

The *Annunciation* in the Brera (No. 448) has one of Francia's loveliest skies, full of light and peace, made lovelier by the gracious outline of the Angel's head against it. The reflection of trees in the still water, the flowers in the foreground, and the young oaks are also characteristic. At Munich there is a † *Madonna in the Rosegarden*, full of attractive detail; a trellis of pink roses shuts in a space of flowery grass, with birds and lizards, and a flat plain, sprinkled with tall trees of the acacia type, and edged by mountains, lies beyond. A hedge of pink roses is seen again in the *Madonna* of the Borghese Gallery (No. 61), whose landscape is rather formal and lacking in atmosphere. The *St. Stephen* of the same gallery (No. 65) is an early work of rather crude colour, but showing Francia's landscape characteristics.

It would be monotonous to describe the scenery of all Francia's better-known pictures; the following are a few typical examples:

In the Pinacoteca at Parma a *Deposition* (No. 123) and a *Madonna with the Holy Children* (No. 359); the latter is mellow in colour, its misty landscape fading into a soft blue-green sky. A *Madonna Enthroned* (No. 130) has a suggestion of moonlight; the landscape is seen through the open arches of a circular building.

In the Louvre a *Holy Family* (No. 1435) is a specially delicate, miniature work. The *Baptism* at Hampton Court is noteworthy for its reflections in the water, and fine trees; the *St. Barbara* of Signor Crespi's Collection, Milan, for its mellow colour and effective composition. One may also mention the *Portrait of Evangelista Scappi* in the Uffizi (No. 1124) and the *St. George and the Dragon* of the Corsini Gallery, Rome.

Francia's son Giacomo, who sometimes was able to copy his father fairly closely, shows at Bologna a predilection for painting rolling cloud-masses, in which he was not successful, and hot, heavy colour in his backgrounds.

TIMOTEO VITI [1467–1523]

Another pupil of Francia's, Timoteo Viti, who learnt from Costa also, has special interest for us as having been one of Raffaelle's masters, handing down to him the traditions of the Ferrara-Bologna School. Several of his landscapes are well composed and carefully finished, the colouring is often subdued and pleasing, but they are sometimes hard. Such, for instance, is the *Madonna and Saints* of the Brera (No. 507) with its mountains, fields, and water, under a hard, pale sky; one notices at once the clematis growing over a bare tree. The *St. Mary Magdalene* of the Bologna Pinacoteca (No. 204) has in one corner one of the most attractive little glimpses of scenery in any Italian picture; it might be in the Thames valley, with its cottages among trees and the little path leading down

a grassy bank to the blue water. The inevitable rock-arch takes up the centre of this picture, and is seen again in Viti's group of *Saints* of the Duomo, Urbino; a very charming, spacious landscape is here seen, under a round arch, with feathery trees, and distant hills and water, in quiet colouring. Also at Urbino, in the Palazzo, is a *St. Sebastian* in *tempera*, with a duller and stiffer background. The small *St. Margaret* at Bergamo (Morelli Collection, No. 30) is also subdued in colour; the most attractive feature of its scenery is the long down-like ridge of hills, topped by a few very delicate trees, against a grey sky, with light clouds.

ERCOLE DI GIULIO CESARE GRANDI

[*circa* 1465–1535]

The traditions of Francia and Costa were carried on by various mildly mediocre painters, such as those who worked with them in Sta. Cecilia, of whom Amico Aspertini (1474–1552) may be mentioned by way of example. The most vigorous and individual of this group is Ercole Grandi, often confused with the earlier Ercole Roberti. He was an architect as well as painter, and introduces architecture into some of his backgrounds, treating both with care and understanding, as several of his pictures in the Ferrara Gallery show, notably a small *Nativity* and a *St. Sebastian.* At Bergamo (Morelli Collection, No. 58) the evident care shown in the landscape of the *Murder of Abel* has not succeeded in producing quite such a

happy result, the mountains being unreal in shape, and the sky and cloud-masses hard ; the grassy valley, and its crags, trees, and water, are all rather wooden. In Sir F. Cook's *Annunciation* blue mountains slope down to a broad river, and a town lies among trees ; the sky is greenish. An open cupboard between the Angel and the Madonna shows a small plant in a pot, some cherries, and clove-pinks in a glass.

DOSSO DOSSI (GIOVANNI LUTERO) [1479–1541]

Ferrara's next painter of any note turned to Venice rather than to Umbria. In Dosso Dossi she produced one of the most remarkable portrayers of romantic, or what Mr. Roger Fry might call lyrical, landscape. The influence of Giorgione, and of Titian in his Giorgionesque stage, is apparent in his work, while in his fertile invention, and endeavour to bring his landscapes into emotional harmony with his figures, even at the cost of over-straining and sensationalism, he anticipates Tintoretto. His figure-drawing, however, is very imperfect, and, rich as is his colour, it never quite attained the true Venetian glow. Dosso looked on Nature as through magic glasses rather than with the noble simplicity of Bellini, but he loved her, especially in her dense forests and overcast skies with gleams of light, and introduced landscape with such features into a very large proportion of his pictures, with striking effect. The over-emphasis on intense shadow and lurid light is in many instances, such as

Anderson

CHRIST AND THE MAGDALENE

FROM THE PICTURE BY CORREGGIO IN THE PRADO, MADRID

This picture shows Correggio's favourite sky suffused with soft light, and his fine treatment of foliage

the Ferrara Gallery altarpiece and the Hampton Court *Holy Family*, due to repainting. Correggio's debt to Dosso is now fully recognised. The subject of Circe seems to have appealed especially to Dosso, lover of enchantments; he treated it several times, the most notable example being in the Borghese Gallery. Here the sorceress sits on the edge of a sombre grove, with trees of lighter foliage behind, and grassy, sunlit slopes on one hand, a rocky acropolis on the other. Fantastic towers and piles of buildings occupy the centre; in one corner there is an olive, with young shoots, and ivy climbing round it; near Circe, a palm and a red rose-bush. A grey dog keeps watch over some armour, and some deep blue water lies among the trees. The colouring, mainly browns and blues, is magnificent, and the chiaroscuro very powerful. The *Diana and Callisto* of the same collection, not entirely by Dosso's own hand, is similar in its rich, dark colour, and grove of trees, which in one corner skirts the water. Beams of light stream from the dark blue sky, and a reddish glow falls on towers, mountains, and water. Another picture of *Circe*, exhibited in the Grafton Galleries in 1910, is lighter in colour, the trees being greener and less dense, and the sky a clearer blue, with light on the horizon. A stag and hind, a greyhound, lions, an owl, and other beasts and birds are grouped round her.

Other pictures with Dosso's characteristic landscape setting and rich sombre colouring are the *Magi* of the

National Gallery, where hill-side and water again catch reflected light; the *Repose in Egypt* (No. 487) and *St. John Baptist* (No. 380) of the Pitti; three small pictures of the *Madonna and Child* in the Pinacoteca, Parma (Nos. 391, 395, 398), in all of which the golden pink sunlight is brought into wonderful relation with the masses of dark foliage; a portrait of Alfonso d'Este, the property of Prince Torlonia, exhibited in the Rome Exhibition, 1911; the *St. John on Patmos* of the Ferrara Gallery; the small *Christ and the Woman at the Well* of the Lochis Collection, Bergamo, which has not quite such magical contrasts of light and shade as some; and a *Madonna and Saints* of the same Collection (No. 218). A small *St. Jerome* of Signor Crespi's has a cave interior of mysterious gloom dimly lit by an aureole of yellow light from a hanging lamp. In the *St. Sebastian* of the Brera an apple-tree and others are seen, and the sky is an unpleasant bluish pink.

Dosso's love for shadow contrasted with strong colour or light runs riot in his huge altarpiece now in the Ferrara Gallery, a curious red glow and reflections serving as a foil to a pleasant evening landscape and moonlit sky. His light sometimes tends to become a glare, as in the Hampton Court *Holy Family*, which too is melodramatic and exaggerated in its inky clouds, dense shadow, and yellow light, as well as in the figure-group itself. (The Child holds a cock, tied by its leg.) Two sharp blue peaks rise against a lurid thunder-sky, a line of dark water is seen on the horizon; two poplars, a field, and a town behind them are

touched by the yellow glare, other trees in the shadow are of a bluer green. Probably Giovanni's brother Battista had a share in its execution. The two collaborated in a † classical scene, belonging to the Marquis of Northampton, which has[1] "a fine, harmonious landscape, with green glades and trees, and water and cities and distance of blue hills." The same description might be applied to Battista's striking *Scene from Orlando Furioso* (exhibited in the Grafton Galleries, 1911), with its romantic setting, and effective light on the castle in the foreground, and the dense blue-grey of part of its distance. A fantastically clipped hedge, wind-blown trees, and stags at pasture may be added to the description.

Dosso's fresco decorations in Ferrara's famous Castello were carried on by his pupils, but he himself was probably responsible for the ceiling of the Sala dell' Aurora, and for the *Ariadne* and *Triumph of Bacchus* in another apartment, which long passed under the name of Titian. The Aurora series gives him scope for his favourite lights and shadows and varied skies—twilight, moonlight, full noon. They abound in the usual classical emblems, and are adorned with garlands of fruit, the decorative scheme and colouring being very fine.

MAZZOLINO [*circa* 1478–1528]

We may briefly refer to two of Dosso's followers, Mazzolino and Garofalo, in whose work a love of

[1] Burlington Fine Arts Catalogue, p. 19.

landscape is the most attractive feature. Mazzolino's colour is hot; Garofalo is heavy and insipid, monotonously repeating a rather theatrical effect of blue mountains and sunset sky, and seeking to reproduce Raffaelle's more obvious charms. Mazzolino worked mostly on a small scale, with careful details, such as those of his *Christ preaching from a Boat* in the Louvre (No. 1388), where one notices at once the swans on the water, in the shadow of a dark grove, and the trees blown by the wind. The sky is pale blue, shading to pale primrose. The scene looks as if it were a real one, painted from Nature. One of the prettiest bits of Nature-painting is in the *Adoration of the Shepherds* at Bologna (No. 117), where two snowy doves perch on the sill of the dark stable window; mountains, fields, and trees are seen to the left. In the *Lazarus* of the Crespi Collection, Milan, blue hills and dark trees are seen against a rosy sky; some of the foliage is oak. Mazzolino also introduces architecture, like the richly decorated marble portico in his *Circumcision* at Bridgewater House, and the Temple in the *Christ among the Doctors* at Berlin.

GAROFALO [*circa* 1481–1559]

It must suffice to mention a few pictures of the indefatigable Garofalo, whose already too long list of authentic works has been swollen by looking on him—as the schoolboy did on the two Apostles—as "almost, if not quite, the same as" Ortolano. Their general character has been already indicated. Both the Brera

and the Conservatori in Rome, for instance, contain several examples, with artificial pink skies and blue hills; often there is water, with towns and trees on the shore. In the Brera *Deposition* (No. 438) a mill and weir are seen. Two landscapes on a small scale are distinctly charming in colour and treatment, those of the *Madonna in Clouds* at Parma (No. 369), and of the *Holy Family* in the Borghese Gallery (No. 208).

ANTONIO ALLEGRI (CORREGGIO) [1494–1534]

The gnarled and rugged trunk of Ferrarese art was in its autumn to bear an engrafted blossom of delicate, almost enervating sweetness. For it was Ferrara that moulded Correggio, through Bianchi, Costa, and, above all, Dosso Dossi, as Mr. Berenson has conclusively shown in his "Study and Criticism of Italian Art" (First Series). Leaving the village in the Parmese *contado* from which he takes his name, Correggio probably accompanied Costa to Mantua in 1509, and, during a stay of two or three years there, saw Mantegna's work, and met Dosso. It may have been that he visited Venice—he seems at any rate to have studied Lotto's pictures—and a visit to Rome and meeting with Raffaelle have been similarly conjectured, but not proved. Lionardo's inspiration may be traced in his subtle chiaroscuro, but all such outside influences are negligible in comparison with that of Ferrara.

The emotional treatment that runs riot in

Correggio's figures was applied with happier results to his landscapes. In this he anticipated Tintoretto, but with what a different range of emotions! Correggio's supreme achievement was in the painting of flesh, but his painting of landscape was only second to it. His poetical feeling for effects of light may have been stimulated by Dosso; it is clearly shown in his early works, such as the shadowy landscapes, with palely gleaming skies, of Signor Crespi's *Nativity* at Milan, or of Mr. R. H. Benson's *Christ taking leave of His Mother*, or in the dreamy blue-greens of *Il Giorno* at Parma. Another type of Correggio's landscapes, gayer but still tender, was in Mr. Berenson's mind when he speaks of his effects of sparkling sunlight and early summer; he ranks Correggio "above all his contemporaries in the treatment of the out of doors." Ruskin had praised his painting of foliage in his favourite "green darkness" of woodland glades, especially that of the oak in his *Antiope* at the Louvre. We recall the fine tree-trunks and foliage of the National Gallery *Education of Cupid* and of Sir F. Cook's *Holy Family*. The ash was another tree that he loved. Interlacing trees, sometimes dimly seen, or with green light filtering through them, and distant hills bathed in mist behind, formed the setting most frequently chosen by Correggio, the *Antiope* of the Louvre being the supreme example. The small plants in its foreground are true to Nature, and one sometimes finds animals well painted by Correggio, like the dog in the *Ganymede* and the white

rabbit of *La Zingarella*. His clouds are not always successful.

In one early work, the † *Piping Faun* at Munich, with a fine landscape, Correggio shows himself so Giorgionesque that the picture has been attributed to the Venetian School. Two other early pictures, to which we have already referred, the Crespi *Nativity* and Mr. Benson's *Christ taking leave of His Mother*, were both painted before 1515. The profound, restrained feeling of the latter is perhaps shown nowhere else in Correggio. The landscape could not be simpler—just a hill-side and trees by the water's edge, under a sky tinged with the mysterious gleams and glooms of dawn. Yet how solemnly it associates itself with the silent, tragic leave-taking—

> Only winds and rivers,
> Life and Death.

The landscape of the *Nativity* is also a thing by itself in Correggio's work; its marvellous effects of light, as in the *Leave-taking*, vividly recall Dosso. Lovely in colour, it is steeped in moonlight and full of soft shadows; wind-blown trees on a grassy slope stand out against the twilight sky; beyond is seen a blue hill, and water on the horizon.

The *Magi* of the Brera probably dates from this period; its landscape is of the gayer type, with fluffy trees and a turquoise sky. Another early work, a *Madonna* in the Castello, Milan, has sketchy blue hills and sky, water falls in a cascade, and there is a yellowish green, tufty tree. It all looks blurred.

Dating also from this time is the well-known *Madonna of St. Francis* at Dresden, which has a distant background of hills and sky, while a tiny glimpse of landscape is seen in the right corner of the *Madonna and St. Sebastian* of the same gallery. The Dresden *La Notte*, painted in Correggio's later life, shows light breaking over distant hills, and plants in the foreground. The *Leda* at Berlin, also a late work, has a fine central group of trees, and a beautiful clear stream. This belongs to the famous group of classical pictures that includes the *Ganymede*, the *Danae*, and the *Antiope*. The precipitous rocks and solitary tree of the † *Ganymede*, at Vienna, greatly enhance its effectiveness. The *Danae* (Borghese Gallery, No. 125) is subdued in colour ; through an opening to the left is seen an expanse of sky, grey-blue and creamy, in the light of dawn, with misty hills in the distance, and a tower nearer.

No gayer or more charming decoration can be imagined than that devised by Correggio in 1518 for the ceiling of a parlour in the Convent of San Paolo, Parma. The idea is, of course, adapted from Mantegna's at Mantua (*cf.* p. 87). Upon a trellis-work of close green foliage are set clusters of apples, horse-chestnuts, pines, grapes, and other fruit. Children play with a lamb, and hold up a stag's head.

Returning to Correggio's sacred pictures, we may mention several with landscapes that are often their most sincerely felt and attractive feature. That of the *Marriage of St. Catherine* in the Louvre (No. 1117)

W. A. Mansell & Co.

THE SLEEPING KNIGHT

FROM THE PICTURE BY RAFFAELLE IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY. (*See p.* 177)

It is difficult to say how far this landscape is connected with the allegory. It is unique in Raffaelle's work ; its scenery, architecture, and colouring recall Bolognese and Flemish paintings rather than Umbrian

consists of distant hills and sky in soft greenish blue, with trees and grassy slopes in brown-green. Both the Uffizi pictures, the *Repose in Egypt* and the *Madonna adoring the Child* (Nos. 1118 and 1134), have trees behind the figures; a palm is conspicuous in both, a fig, springing out of the wall, in the latter. Its blue sky shades into warm whiteness, and a blue hill rises in the distance. Several pictures of the Parma Gallery have Correggio's favourite tree-trunks and dense foliage, pierced by light; in the grey gloom of the *Deposition* rocks and trees are dimly seen; in the *Martyrdom of SS. Placidus and Flavia* the oak-trees and low-growing shrubs are contrasted with the intense peacock-blue of the hill-side, where truth to Nature is sacrificed for the sake of the contrast. It is difficult to express, and no photograph avails to show, how harmonious and tender, how natural, how curiously modern, is the effect of the landscape of *Il Giorno*, one can scarcely withdraw one's eyes from it, lovely as are some of the figures. The peaceful plain lies outspread in a misty veil of Correggio's most delicious blue-green; the sky is flooded with a soft primrose radiance, low grey clouds resting over the distant hill. Houses are seen among trees in the middle distance; dark trunks and oak-leaves in the foreground are outlined against the sky. Oaks again in the *Madonna della Scodella* suggest the depth and mystery of the forest; the path in the foreground is chequered by light and shadow. Unfortunately the clouds are unsatisfactory, resembling solid grey balloons.

In the *Gethsemane* of the National Gallery (a replica of that at Apsley House) a straining after theatrical effect is painfully evident. The dark, shadowy mass of tree-trunks and foliage is thrown into startling contrast with the supernatural light, the most real feature being the distant peep of grey sky and hill seen in the faint light of dawn, or of the moon.

* * *

After Correggio, as after Raffaelle, followed a host of imitators, headed by Parmigiano, of mannerists, and of eclectics, finally forming that seventeenth-century School of Bologna, so much admired by the young Disraeli and other travellers of his day.

CHAPTER IX

I. RAFFAELLE. II. MICHELANGELO. III. FLORENTINES OF THE LATER RENAISSANCE (FRA BARTOLOMMEO, ANDREA DEL SARTO). 1480–1560

ALTHOUGH Raffaelle's father, Giovanni Santi, died while his boy was too young to have received much definite instruction from him, he merits a passing reference as one who evidently had some love for landscape, and knew many of his greater contemporaries.

GIOVANNI SANTI [*circa* 1440–1494]

THE pupil of Melozzo da Forlì, Santi shows a leaning towards his Umbrian neighbours, and some sense of that airy spaciousness so conspicuous in Raffaelle—an instinct with dwellers in such an isolated mountain-nest as Urbino. Several of Santi's pictures are preserved in its Ducal Palace; they are rather wooden and stiff, like his National Gallery *Madonna* and his *Annunciation* of the Brera. An effect of distance is carefully attempted in the *Virgin Martyr* at Urbino, with its still water flowing out to the horizon between rocks and trees. At Fano there is a † *Visitation* with a landscape.

I. RAFFAELLE [1483–1520]

The landscapes of Raffaelle, like his work in general, bear traces of the various influences moulding his plastic genius during the three phases through which he passed—the Perugian, the Florentine, and the Roman. At some early but unspecified period, in Urbino or elsewhere, Raffaelle would seem to have learnt the traditions of Costa and Francia from Timoteo Viti, and these appear in several early works, such as the National Gallery *Vision of a Knight.* Over-insistence has, however, been laid on this Bolognese influence; Raffaelle's more varied and broken landscapes were probably modelled on those of Pintoricchio, with whom he was closely associated, while the Northern character of some of his scenery and architecture can be easily accounted for by a study of Flemish painting. The backgrounds of the † *Crucifixion* at St. Petersburg, for instance, or of the *Terranuova Madonna* at Berlin are obviously Flemish in character, but their authenticity is at least doubtful.

When all is said, no other influence under which Raffaelle came competed with Perugino's, persisting as it did through the greater part of the pupil's all-too-short life. It determined the character of the landscapes in such pictures as the *Madonna of the Goldfinch* (*Cardellino*) and Doni portraits, painted in Florence, probably between 1506 and 1508, after Raffaelle had already become acquainted with Fra Bartolommeo. Lionardo's influence scarcely shows

Alinari

LANDSCAPE BELOW "THE VISION OF EZEKIEL"

DETAIL FROM THE PICTURE BY RAFFAELLE IN THE PITTI, FLORENCE. (*See p.* 181)

A powerful, impressionist rendering of light streaming from clouds on trees and meadows; a plain with water is seen far below. This late work shows the striking development in Raffaelle's treatment of Nature when compared with his earlier, formal landscapes

itself in the earlier easel pictures, although very apparent in the figures and grouping of the frescoes. When the young Umbrian left Florence for Rome, contact with such fellow-workers there as Michelangelo, Sebastiano del Piombo, and Bazzi, together with the use of fresco as his medium, lent fresh naturalism, width, and variety to his Nature-settings. The development of Raffaelle's powers in these respects is shown with almost startling force in the landscape below his *Vision of Ezekiel* in the Pitti, although it must be remembered that this, like so much of his work, was partly executed by pupils.

But, with a few exceptions, it cannot honestly be claimed that the long series of landscapes in Raffaelle's easel pictures are interesting, or are landscapes in anything like the Venetian sense. They tend to be monotonous in colour and conventional in composition, lacking invention, and standing in no special relation to the figures. They would seem to have been painted without enthusiasm, differing in this respect from Perugino's. The least successful is perhaps that of the *Entombment* in the Borghese Gallery, painted in 1507, which is as academic and wanting in true feeling as its figures. A miniature-like finish, recalling the Flemings, is shown in some, such as the National Gallery *St. Catherine* and *Vision of a Knight*. In the former the reflection of trees and stakes in the water, and the foreground plants, including a dandelion "clock," are executed with extreme care. The *Vision of a Knight* is a lovely piece of enamel-like work,

in colour and type blending Francia and the Flemings rather than recalling Perugino. The laurel-tree dividing the picture in the foreground does not suggest him, nor does the landscape consist of the open uplands of Umbria, but of a mountainous river-valley more like the Val Reno, and with distinctly Gothic buildings and a covered bridge. The lines of tree and landscape admirably unite the figures. There is pink sunset light in the sky.

The † *St. George* at St. Petersburg should be mentioned side by side with the *Vision of a Knight*, painted as it probably was between 1504 and 1506, and also showing Northern influence. Gothic towers are seen in the centre distance; the taller trees are Umbrian in type, others shorter and rounder. A beautiful thicket crowns a hillock to the right, rather in the manner of Ghiberti, Lippo, and other Florentines, while the grass-covered pile of rocks on the other side, and the small plants of the foreground, recall Pintoricchio.

A town of Gothic buildings straggling along a hill-crest is the most noticeable feature in the landscape of the Munich † *Holy Family*.

Raffaelle had a practical knowledge of Renaissance architecture, and employed it skilfully to enhance the space and general effect of his pictures, from such an early work as the *Sposalizio* of the Brera down to the *School of Athens* fresco in the Vatican. The expanse of clear sky in the *Sposalizio*, seen through the open door and colonnades of the Temple and stretching

away on either side, is its most striking feature. Similarly in our *Ansidei Madonna* a great stretch of sky fills the lofty arch above the low-horizoned landscape.

The Peruginesque type of background has been so often described already—its luminous sky, its wide plains and gentle hills, with peaceful water and feathery trees—that it may suffice now to mention some few well-known works by Raffaelle in which it occurs. In the Vatican Pinacoteca, in the *Annunciation* of the *predella* to the *Coronation of Our Lady*, a lovely glimpse of blue-green hills and water, with primrose light in the sky, is seen through rounded arches at the end of a spacious hall. In the Uffizi the *Madonna of the Goldfinch* has a deep blue sky, with fleecy clouds; thin Peruginesque trees are outlined against it. The town to the right, at the foot of the hills, with another above, suggests Florence and Fiesole. *La Belle Jardinière* in the Louvre shows Gothic buildings, with formal mountains and a lake, and a columbine and strawberry-plant in the foreground. At Vienna the † *Madonna in the Meadow* has similar features, and the Doni portraits in the Pitti (repainted) are other examples of this landscape type. The river scene of the † *Conestabile Madonna* at St. Petersburg would seem to depict winter or early spring, as the trees are bare and the mountains appear to be snow-covered.

Rather later in date than these are the *Garvagh Madonna* of the National Gallery, the Louvre *Madonna of the Blue Diadem* (No. 1497), and the *Madonna di*

Foligno in the Vatican, which all show a certain resemblance in colouring, and in the broader, less formal, and generally more impressionist treatment of their landscapes. In both the two first, the blue haze over the distant hamlets adds greatly to the atmospheric effect; the veiled sky, with its soft gleams of light on hills and towers in the *Diadem Madonna*, suggests Fra Bartolommeo. On the left side, high arched walls and trees crown a slope in the foreground, and the sense of receding distance, as in the *Madonna di Foligno*, is beautifully conveyed. The town in the latter bears no resemblance to Foligno, and a splash of vivid orange has been quite arbitrarily taken to represent a falling bomb. An amber rainbow, set in a grey, cloudy sky, encircles the town, which is grey likewise; some of its houses, as in the other two pictures, are tall and narrow, with penthouse roofs. Hills and dark trees enclose it, and a path leads towards it through the pleasant meadows of the middle distance. The small, detailed plants of the immediate foreground are a relic of Umbrian influence.

Before turning to Raffaelle's frescoes, we may mention some of his latest easel pictures. In the *St. Cecilia* at Bologna, the landscape is quite insignificant, and the sky badly repainted. In the *Transfiguration* of the Vatican, left unfinished at his death, the eye is at once drawn to the flood of unearthly glory behind the Figure of the glorified Saviour floating above the flat-topped grassy knoll in the centre; beyond it, to the right, lies a blue distance,

Jules Hautecœur

MONA LISA

FROM THE PORTRAIT BY LIONARDO DA VINCI IN THE LOUVRE (UNTIL RECENTLY)

(*See p.* 196)

The fantastic rocks and shadowed waters of this background subtly harmonise with the mysterious charm of the face

with water ; dark trees stand out against the sky, dark also, save for a rosy flush on the horizon.

The *Vision of Ezekiel* (Pitti, No. 174), to which we have already alluded, has also a wonderful burst of golden radiance behind the Divine Figure, reflected on the clouds around, and falling in a beam of light on the trees clustered on a grassy slope below. A splendid oak stands solitary in the foreground ; in the distance stretches away a misty landscape of green fields and grey-blue water, low hills, and promontories. The effect of the whole is indescribably powerful and suggestive, especially the sense of immeasurable distance between the low-lying landscape and the cloud-wrapped firmament. In such infinite, heavenly spaces the Sistine Madonna too is upborne.

A group of pictures that are known to be largely the work of pupils shows a striving after Lionardesque chiaroscuro and contrasted lights in their distances. Such are the portrait of Joanna of Aragon in the Louvre, and, at Madrid, the † *Holy Family under the Oak*, † *La Perla*, and the † *Visitation*. The two latter would appear to have beautiful, misty landscapes, *La Perla* almost suggesting Dosso in its vivid streaks of light and crowded buildings.

Of the frescoes in the *Stanze* of the Vatican, painted from 1509 onwards, with much help from pupils, the three most important from our point of view are the *Disputà*, the *Parnassus*, and the *Release of St. Peter*. In the first, there is a vast expanse of sky, full of diffused light. Far below it, grey hills slope to the horizon,

while, on the left, grassy slopes are covered with delicate trees in pale green, and with buildings, some in course of erection, with workmen on scaffolding.

Parnassus is represented by a rocky, grass-covered knoll, crowned by six or seven trees, presumably bays, though their foliage much more resembles olive. A stream gushes forth at Apollo's feet, and light clouds float in the blue sky.

A very striking if somewhat stagey effect of moonlight marks the *St. Peter ;* the crescent moon breaks through dark clouds, which reflect her light, as does the soldiers' armour. Blazing torches make a contrasted light and the prison-room is full of yet another —a soft glow streaming, not from the moon, but from the angelic visitor. The lower part of the sky has a reddish tinge, a dark line of hills stands out against it. If the early, smaller *St. Michael* of the Louvre be genuine, it would show Raffaelle attempting similar effects of lurid and contrasted lights near the outset of his career. The *Burning of the Borgo* gave him further opportunities for them.

In the *Repulse of Attila*, the Colosseum, the Aqueduct, and other buildings of Rome are introduced, among hills and groves of trees ; a flood of pale, golden light bathes the flying figures of the Apostles in mid-heaven.

The cartoons for the Vatican tapestries, begun about 1515, now at South Kensington, have, needless to say, been much pieced together and repainted, as well as being in the reverse position from the tapestries

themselves. Several of them gain much in space by their vistas of distant landscape, as in the *Lystra* and *Ananias* scenes, with their simple outlines of hills and sky. Classical architecture is an important feature in several, notably in the *Athens* and *Lystra* scenes. The two most important landscapes, spacious, finely composed and broadly treated, are those of the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes* and the *Charge to St. Peter.* A portion of the first received the high compliment of being copied by Titian in his picture in the Duomo, Serravalle. The lake stretches to the horizon, reflecting its green banks on the right, dotted with towns; there is a sweep of blue sky, with clouds, and the cranes and bulrushes on the shore in the foreground are realistically treated. In the *Charge to St. Peter* less of the water is seen, the hill-slope extends on the left behind the group of figures, and is varied by trees of several kinds, with houses and towers among them.

The *Loggie* of the Vatican owe their inspiration to the re-discovered Roman wall-paintings at Pompeii and in Rome, and carry to perfection the style of "grotesques" initiated by Pintoricchio. In their present state only the general scheme of these decorations can be attributed to Raffaelle, and their original execution was almost entirely left to his pupils. They are charmingly dainty and gay with their wreaths of flowers and fruit, their devices of blue sky and birds, their interwoven squirrels, parrots, stags, and other beasts. The small Biblical scenes of the vaulting have many of them landscape backgrounds, of which good

examples are those of *Joseph explaining Pharaoh's Dream*, *Abraham and Melchizedek*, *Abraham and the Angels*, and *The Finding of Moses*. Some recesses in a side wall have rather sketchy landscapes, with no figures; one represents birds by a stream, with a sunset distance, another, park-like slopes, with hills, trees and a river, and a trellis of white jessamine in the foreground.

Garlands of flowers and fruit, with other attractive details of decoration, are seen in the *Cupid and Psyche* series of the Villa Farnesina, Rome. The grace and life of the figures and details are undoubtedly due to Raffaelle's design, but the work was actually carried out by Giulio Romano, and has been terribly repainted. In the *Galatea* in another room of the same Villa, painted in 1514, we have an authentic and most exquisite work of the master himself. Damp from the neighbouring Tiber has ravaged the frescoed walls, but amid ruin and decay these forms of buoyant life still breathe and glow, incarnating the youth of the world and the glamour of the sea. On the horizon open sky meets open sea. The salt breeze crisps the little waves into foam, and tresses and draperies stream loose in it; we are borne on, together with Galatea's shell-chariot, her dolphins, and troop of attendants, by the incoming tide, whose murmur is in our ears. Here the poet's longing, that so many must have shared at times, to

> Have sight of Proteus coming from the sea
> Or hear old Triton blow his wreathed horn,

would melt into an ecstasy of content. Here Raffaelle enters, as by instinct, with no artificial striving, into the very spirit of the antique world, at least, in its joyous aspect. On this high level we may leave him.

We shall not pursue his followers on their downward slope, the *facilis descensus* of such insipid imitators as Giulio Romano, Perin del Vaga, and a host of others, when the master's guidance was removed. Although too late for our own scope, a passing allusion must be made to the *Aurora* of Guido Reni, at the Villa Rospigliosi, Rome, so Raffaellesque in its inspiration, so eloquent, with all its faults, of the

> Far-folded mists, and gleaming halls of morn,

and of the " wild team " that

> Shake the darkness from their loosened manes,
> And beat the twilight into flakes of fire.

* * *

II. MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI [1475–1564]

But very few words, as regards landscape, will suffice for Michelangelo, mightiest of Florentine, if not of all painters. It may seem that we do him wrong, being so majestical, to offer him such brief mention, but, indeed, detailed Nature-painting holds little or no place in his work. Rather do we find vast, elemental suggestions of sea, sky, or mountains, sketched in with the same masterful brush as the Titanesque figures that they frame. Such are the hills and sky of the

(unfinished) *Entombment* in the National Gallery, or the *tondo* of the *Holy Family* in the Uffizi (No. 1139); in the latter, Signorelli's influence is clearly seen. The frescoes on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, painted between 1508 and 1512, have indications of sky, water, fields, hill-sides, rocks, and trees, notably in the *Flood*, the *Temptation and Expulsion from Eden*, the *Creation of Eve*, and the *Adam*. In this last, the sheer, gaunt hill-side and sweep of sky are sublime; anything less broad, less elemental, would have withdrawn the eye from those unapproachably majestic figures, the Creator and Man. Michelangelo visualised Nature in the human form to whose study he was so profoundly and entirely devoted; the naked Genii that surround these frescoes represent the Forces of Nature far more powerfully and poetically than any elaborate landscape. "Michelangelo," says Mr. Sturge Moore, "brushes aside the beauty of flowers, of trees, of gardens, of palaces, . . . in order to insist that the nature of virtue is action and the symbol of action the naked human body." ("Correggio," p. 85.) The *Last Judgment* on the west wall of the Sistine Chapel, executed considerably later than the ceiling frescoes, probably owes its crude blue sky to retouching; in the lower part, a last gleam of light from upper earth falls upon the lost souls in Charon's bark, whose prow is turned towards the sombre banks and murky waters of the River of Hell.

* * *

III. Florentines of the Later Renaissance

Fra Bartolommeo, Albertinelli, Andrea del Sarto, Franciabigio

The four names set at the head of this section may be taken as representing landscape-painting among the Florentines immediately succeeding the Botticelli group; Lionardo da Vinci who, chronologically, should have been considered with them, was so identified with Milan as to be reserved for the next chapter. Others, like Pontormo or Bronzino, are only praiseworthy as portraitists, or are mere eclectics, like Bacchiacca or Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, or mere copyists, like Raffaellino del Garbo. The influence of Raffaelle and Michelangelo was at this time overpowering individuality in lesser men.

FRA BARTOLOMMEO (BACCIO DELLA PORTA) [1475–1517]

Fra Bartolommeo, for instance, was ruined by an ineffectual straining after the *terribilità* of his mighty fellow-citizen. His earlier, simpler work shows his delicate execution and love of gentle figures and peaceful landscape. As is well known, his grief at the Savonarola tragedy led to his abandoning painting for some years, to resume it under the inspiration of the young Raffaelle, who visited San Marco in 1504, and interchanged thoughts and ideas on their art with the Dominican. Fra Bartolommeo's later visit to Venice gave him an insight into Venetian colouring, and may

have helped him as much as his visit to Rome harmed him.

Softness, delicacy, and rich colour mark Fra Bartolommeo's landscapes, which bear some resemblance to the Umbrians, notably in their slender, feathery trees, their blue hills, grassy slopes, and clear water. A good example of his early period containing these features is the delicate miniature-like *Nativity* of the Uffizi (No. 1161). Sometimes they are less spacious than Perugino's, and show more homely details of rustic life, such as the farm among the trees, or the mill by the river. A slight mist often hangs about them, and the trees are sometimes sketchy, with foliage like seaweed. We see trees of this sort in Sir. F. Cook's picture (No. 40)—one of Fra Bartolommeo's less successful landscapes—and in the *Holy Family* of the Corsini Gallery, Rome. Here a castle and farm are seen amongst trees, and blue, misty hills on the horizon. Daisies and dandelions dot the foreground, and the sky is a deep blue, with grey clouds. The composition is natural, and the colour rich; in some points our National Gallery *Madonna and the Holy Children* resembles this, but its colour is lighter and thinner, and its sky a paler blue. Warm light falls on the water, and on the houses and towers beside it; to the left are seen two tall, slender trees, sketchily painted, to the right, grey-blue mountains in the distance. In the Academy, Florence, the *Vision of St. Bernard* (No. 77) has an ethereal landscape of hills fading into a light sky, with a grassy foreground, and

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STUDY OF A LILY

FROM A SKETCH BY LIONARDO DA VINCI AT WINDSOR

This and the following sketch are examples of the multifarious studies from Nature in Lionardo's notebooks

a town. In the *Resurrection* of the Pitti (No. 159), the angels hold a globe, which is completely filled by a landscape of low-lying fields and hills surrounding water, in subdued blues and greens, with a pale light in the sky. The effect is curiously modern, as in some of Lotto's pictures. A very lovely *tondo*, belonging to the Marchese Visconti Venosta, shown in the Rome Exhibition, 1911, owes much of its charm to its luminous sky, of greyish blue and rose, its misty hills, and delicate, brown-leaved trees. One of Fra Bartolommeo's finest works on a large scale, the *Eternal Father with SS. Catherine and Mary Magdalene*, in the Pinacoteca at Lucca, has a beautiful, characteristic landscape at its base.

It is often difficult to differentiate between the Frate's work and that of his friend Mariotto Albertinelli, who frequently collaborated with him. Mr. Berenson assigns to him the *Christ and the Magdalene* of the Louvre (No. 1115), there ascribed to Albertinelli. Its background is carefully painted, but too academic. There are the usual blue hills sloping to the horizon, and slender, brown trees ; the clear sky is full of warm light, and a lake or river, with towered towns on either shore, fills the middle distance.

MARIOTTO ALBERTINELLI [1474–1515]

Albertinelli, who had studied under Piero di Cosimo, seems to have shared his master's and his friend's love of landscape, choosing the same aspects as the latter, dissimilar though his own nature was. In his small

triptych at the Poldi Pezzoli Museum (No. 477), the side wings are covered with a delicate Francia-like landscape, of blue mountains, dark trees, and clear sky; a village nestles among green fields; the leaves of the trees are fewer and bigger than in nature. An early work at Bergamo (Morelli Collection, No. 32) has feathery trees against a clear, light sky, low ranges of blue-green downs on the horizon, and a flat brownish green foreground. Though slightly monotonous, the colour is harmonious, and the sense of space good. In the Lochis Collection (No. 110), a *Crucifixion* has a formal, miniature-like background, less rich in colour than usual, and with a rather hard sky. Primrose light colours the horizon, behind blue mountains; some trees stretch out bare branches against it, others with dull green foliage shelter houses, and water is seen in the plain. Morelli speaks of the "miniature-like precision" of the foliage in these pictures, and traces Albertinelli's careful treatment of landscape in general to the influence of Ugo van der Goes. A small *Madonna and the Holy Children* in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, has also primrose light in the sky, with trees and a church standing out against it. Varied detail marks the *tondo* of the *Holy Family* in the Pitti (No. 365)—water crossed by a bridge, with houses beside it, a tall tree of Umbrian type in the centre; in the foreground, dainty flowers and leaves and a small bird. The sky has a rosy flush, above the usual blue hills. The famous *Visitation* of the Uffizi, Albertinelli's best-known work (No. 1259), has a fine

sky, with white clouds, full of light. Slender trees rise on either side, and in the grass are wild strawberries, with fruit and blossom. The centre panel of the *predella* has a delicate little landscape similar in type to those just described.

ANDREA D'AGNOLO (DEL SARTO) [1486–1531]

One would imagine that landscape would not have naturally appealed to a temperament like Andrea del Sarto's, but, as the pupil of Piero di Cosimo and the facile accomplisher of whatever he undertook, Andrea has left us some charming landscape backgrounds, notably in the frescoes of the Sma. Annunziata painted in his fresh youth. Fra Bartolommeo's influence upon him is evident, and he resembles the Frate in his rich colour, and in vain attempts in later life after the Michelangelesque. His shadows are often unpleasantly grey or black.

In the Sma. Annunziata frescoes, however, the colouring is clear and gay, the figures full of life ; the landscapes belong almost entirely to those on the left side of the court, representing the Life of St. Philip Benizzi, and painted about 1510. They have great stretches of light-coloured sky, sometimes with rosy or grey clouds ; the setting of the *Gamblers* is quite the finest. Here some feathery trees are blown by the wind, a great ash is seen near the centre, and rocks are tufted with yellowish green grass ; farther off are grey-blue hills. The leaping dog should be noted, and the carefully rendered teazles and other plants in

one corner. Some trees have bare boughs ; a clump of firs is seen on a rocky knoll in the *Beggars* scene, and a castle in the background. The fourth scene is unfortunately damaged.—On the right of the court, the frescoes, dating from a few years later, depict the Life of Our Lady ; only one, the *Procession of the Magi*, has a landscape setting. The sky and its clouds are light grey, in the distance rise some pale-coloured mountain peaks, low rocks are crowned by some short trees, while two tall and slender ones, with tamarisk-like foliage, are seen in the centre.

A grassy hillock is a frequent feature in Andrea's landscapes. The *Sacrifice of Isaac* at Dresden, with its background of mountains, nearer trees, and a town, was highly praised by Vasari for its truth ; another fine landscape of the same type is seen in the † *Holy Family with an Angel* at Madrid. In the *Annunciation* of the Pitti, blue hills form the distance, with a ruin and a solitary tree ; golden light, enveloping the Dove, streams from the blue sky. The *Deposition* of the same gallery (No. 58) has again distant hills, over which the turquoise sky, with its rolling grey clouds, grows lighter. The *Charity* of the Louvre (No. 1514) has a deep blue sky, with tufty trees in dull green ; it lacks atmosphere. The lovely *St. Agnes* in the Duomo, Pisa, is almost monochrome ; its light is diffused ; sky and hill-side, with a town on the hill-summit, are in soft grey-blue. Andrea's lively fancy is shown in some † frescoes (not entirely executed by himself) at Leo X.'s Villa at Poggio a Caiano, near

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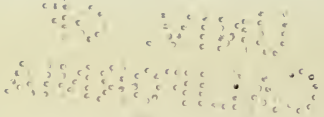
STORM IN AN ALPINE VALLEY

FROM A DRAWING IN RED CHALK BY LIONARDO DA VINCI AT WINDSOR. (*See p.* 195)

A landscape study pure and simple, without figures. The sheer height of the mountains above the valley is marvellously rendered, and the downpour from the heavy clouds



Florence, representing envoys bringing tribute to Cæsar, where giraffes, parrots, monkeys, and other beasts are introduced. Among Andrea's drawings at the British Museum, there is an unfinished one in red crayon, of a mule browsing—it is very clever and realistic.

FRANCIABIGIO [1482–1525]

Franciabigio's landscapes are attractive, recalling Albertinelli and Andrea, with the latter of whom he shared a *bottega*. His exaggeration of Andrea's grey shadows lends them a tinge of melancholy foreign to the Umbrian School with which they have much in common. They form backgrounds to portraits, as in that of the National Gallery, to classical stories, and to sacred subjects; an instance of each may be quoted from Florence. A *Man's Portrait* in the Pitti (No. 43) has a uniform blue-green sky, trees of Umbrian type, one bare and wind-blown, blue hills and nearer grassy slopes, with water and buildings. In the Uffizi, the *Madonna del Pozzo* of the Tribuna (No. 1125) has a pretty foreground of grasses, leaves, and flowers; a town is seen near a ruined arch, from which some trees spring; another tree stands out against the sky, others fill the distance; the hills and sky are pale blue, with white clouds over the hills. In the *Temple of Hercules* (No. 1223), the sky and hills are again light-coloured, the rocks and fields of brownish green and the foliage varied.

CHAPTER X

I. MILAN: LIONARDO DA VINCI AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES. II. BAZZI AND SOME LATER SIENESE. 1450–1550

LIONARDO DA VINCI [1452–1519]

UNLIKE his great contemporary and fellow-citizen, Michelangelo, Lionardo da Vinci took as keen an interest in the study of plant and animal life, and of natural phenomena, as in that of the human figure. One has only to turn to his notebooks and treatises to see how closely he observed, and how constantly he noted down the results of his observation. A few quotations must suffice by way of example.[1] He acknowledges Nature as his mistress—*maestra dei maestri*—she "never breaks her own law," and again, "there is no result in Nature without a cause; understand the cause and you will have no need of the experiment." Light and shadow he studies especially; a moderate light gives the best effect, *il troppo lume fa crudo*. Shadows and reflections in wavy water will always be greater than the object outside the water which causes

1 *Cf.* Richter, "Literary Works of Lionardo da Vinci," and McCurdy, "Lionardo da Vinci's Notebooks."

them. When the sun is in the east, trees in that quarter are dark towards the centre, light at the edges. Landscape is a deeper blue in winter than in summer, owing to the "definition of the blue colour of the atmosphere"; the shadows of leafy trees are darker than those of bare ones. The shadows of plants are never black, because there cannot be absolute darkness where atmosphere penetrates. The atmosphere is densest near level ground. Leaves are always indistinct in the sun, never transparent, because of the imprint of the shadow of the leaves above them. Special detailed instructions are given on the painting of trees, and a great variety are mentioned by name. There is also a vivid description of the manner in which a tempest should be painted, and of a sunset cloud seen over Lago Maggiore; it was like a mountain, and attracted small clouds to itself, retaining the sunset reflection on its summit an hour and a half after the sun had gone down.

A careful word-picture like this is paralleled among the sketches by the *Storm over an Alpine Valley* (*cf.* Plate XXIX.) and the Uffizi drawing, dated 1473, of a valley with trees, between mountains, and ramparts on their slopes; also by countless minute studies of flowers and leaves, each with its characteristic growth. Such are the Windsor sketches of trees, of blackberry sprays, and of anemones. In his pictures also we find small rock-plants and others lovingly depicted—the iris, the blue columbine, and that "fair-clustered narcissus" which he seems to have loved like the poet

of Colonos. Foliage too, chestnut, fir, and palm, is powerfully and realistically treated in his sketch for the *Magi* in the Uffizi.

All the more surprising is it that, side by side with this devotion to Nature and truth in depicting her, Lionardo should deliberately have chosen landscape backgrounds for his pictures that are as a whole unreal and fantastic. His shadows and lights, though magically effective, are yet not those of common day. Mystery is indeed gained—the inscrutable *Mona Lisa* becomes doubly so from the shadowed waters that wind in a grey-green distance among dream-hills; *Our Lady of the Rocks* feels the twilight close in around her from overhanging grottoes and fathomless caves where the dark tides creep. Pater has expressed the feeling left on the beholder by these pictures when he speaks ("The Renaissance," pp. 116, 117) of "Lionardo's hollow places full of the green shadow of bituminous rocks, ridged reefs of trap-rock which cut the water into quaint sheets of light . . . all the solemn effects of moving water." And again, "Through Lionardo's strange veil of sight things reach him so, in no ordinary night or day, but as in faint light of eclipse . . . or through deep water." Some of these backgrounds may originally have had a more natural colour, and have lost it by fading, like the *Mona Lisa;* others are unfinished, like the *St. Anne* of the Louvre; here the sky and the fantastic jagged peaks are paler in colour than those of the *Madonna of the Rocks.* The *St. Jerome* of the Vatican

Plate 30

Alinari

PORTRAIT OF CHARLES D'AMBOISE

FROM THE PICTURE BY SOLARIO IN THE LOUVRE, PARIS. (*See p.* 204)

One of the rare examples of snow mountains in Italian painting; here, the Alps near Milan

is merely an unfinished sketch, almost in monochrome, like the *Magi*. There is, however, nothing unnatural or mysterious about the glimpse of landscape seen behind the world-famous *Cenacolo* at Milan—a broad sweep of distant blue-green hills and blue sky, enhancing the serene, ineffable pathos of the central Figure, as the Umbrian backgrounds do, and contrasting with the agitation of the other actors in the tragic drama.

A sufficiently startling theory to account for these fantastic and unusual mountains of Lionardo's has been recently put forward. Herr Oscar Münsterberg[1] maintains that they were borrowed from Chinese painting! He proves that Chinese porcelain was found in Royal and other collections, at Venice, and in Florence, by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there being constant contact with China at the time both by sea and caravan. A mind like Lionardo's, he argues, would have felt the Oriental magic, and would have adapted, rather than merely copied, Chinese originals—" ein geistiges und ästhetisches Erfassen der asiatischen Darstellungsart und ein Umarbeiten in die heimatliche Kunstsprache " (p. 97). The un-Italian character of this " Phantasielandschaft " in mountain formation, lack of unity with the foreground, monochrome, and treatment of zones of water, is thus accounted for, and these traits are all found in Chinese art, which also excels in the *sfumato* and misty light of Lionardo. This theory is, we think, interesting

[1] " Orientalisches Archiv," 1911 (*see* Bibliography). My attention was kindly drawn to this article by Professor T. W. Arnold.

rather than convincing. Lionardo's backgrounds might well have been evolved from his own imagination, coloured by recollections of Alps to the North of Milan, and the sufficiently fantastic efforts of his predecessors.

A discussion of the claims to authenticity of the rival versions of the *Madonna of the Rocks* in the Louvre and the National Gallery would be beside the mark here ; even if the hand of Ambrogio da Predis can be traced in the latter, it was executed so entirely under Lionardo's direction, and the result is so superior to anything else that Ambrogio ever did, that for our purpose it may be treated as the master's own. Many pictures that have passed as Lionardo's are now, of course, assigned to his followers in Milan or Florence—the so-called *Monaca di Lionardo*, for instance, in the Pitti, now attributed to Bugiardini. The *Bacchus* of the Louvre (No. 1602) is chiefly noticeable for its fine oak-tree, with twisted stem, and dark, naturalistic foliage, and for the lovely columbine in one corner.

Lionardo is so unique in genius, in versatility, in achievement, and, above all, in what he left projected but unachieved, that one is tempted to forgive a contemporary chronicler his doggerel, and to exclaim with him :

Sed forsan superat Leonardus Vincius omnes !

BERNARDINO LUINI [*circa* 1475–1533]

Bernardino Luini, the chief of Foppa's followers, was working in Milan before Lionardo came there, and there is no proof that he was ever one of Lionardo's

actual pupils, although that master's influence affected all his later work. Lovely as much of it is, landscape is not one of its most successful features. Luini seems to have treated it casually, especially in his frescoes. In the fine *Crowning with Thorns* of the Ambrosiana, painted in 1522, the landscape is quite unimportant; in the vast *Crucifixion* at Lugano, all sense of sky and distance is lost through the overcrowding of the figures. In the early frescoes, such as the fragments in the Brera, the Louvre, and at Berlin, as well as in those at San Maurizio, Milan, painted between 1526 and 1530, he is mostly content with suggestions of rounded green slopes, unreal, bushy trees, and pale skies. His colour-scheme in fresco is light and clear, with an absence of shadow, and an excess of rather crude yellow and blue. Some of these earlier frescoes and some by Bramantino resemble one another very closely—the *putti* with vine-branches, for instance, have been assigned to both painters, but should probably be made over to Bramantino.

Luini indulges in gilt ornamentation, but is distinctly less archaic than Bergognone and Foppa. Some of his backgrounds are known to have been put in by assistants, which may account for their inferior quality. Although his frescoes as a whole are better than his easel-pictures, some of the latter have more carefully finished small landscapes, often seen through an opening. These landscapes rather repeat themselves, usually consisting of the "sharp and angular line of peaks" which Crowe and Cavalcaselle, in

speaking of Bramantino, had described as a characteristic of the Lombard School in general, with water among trees, and thatched, gabled farms. They are quiet in tone, the mountains as a rule grey, the sky grey or greenish, rather than definitely blue. Two examples, which show Luini at his very best in landscape, are the *Madonna* of the Ambrosiana Gallery, and the *Marriage of St. Catherine* of the Poldi Pezzoli Museum. Signor Crespi's *St. Jerome*, a miniature-like *Madonna* of the Morelli Collection, Bergamo (No. 7), a *Madonna* in the Wallace Collection, and several fine pictures in the Palazzo Borromeo, are other examples. In the *Baptism* of the last-named Gallery, the landscape is rather dull and wooden. Luini did not succeed with clouds, perhaps his most attractive skies are seen above the shepherds in the field in several of his favourite *Nativity* scenes—those, for example, in the Lochis Collection, Bergamo, the Louvre, and the Palazzo Borromeo. Here they are a soft blue-green, suggesting moonlight, or are powdered with stars, an amber glory encircling the Angel.

The architecture introduced by Luini is good, and typically Milanese; we have referred to the Bramantesque Church in the *St. Jerome* of the Poldi Pezzoli; another is seen in the Lugano *Crucifixion*, crowning a hill, and the *Santuario* at Saronno (*cf.* p. 7) appears in a fresco there. Luini has slightly altered its actual position, by setting it on rising ground, instead of on the flat. In the *Magi* fresco at Saronno, the camel and giraffe are as absurd as St. Jerome's lion in the

Poldi Pezzoli Museum, but other details of this last-named picture are very attractive—the swans and reflections of the lake, and the ferns in the rock-crannies. Characteristic of the man is his love for the starry jessamine, and for that other white fragrance, the sweet old-world rose, trained over a trellis behind his loveliest Madonna—in the Brera. Here too we see Lionardo's columbine, but another † picture, called after this flower *La Columbina*, at St. Petersburg, and containing other dainty flowers and ferns, is no longer assigned to Luini. Several replicas exist, all probably from some original by Lionardo. Three *predella* panels by Luini, representing the martyrdom of three Saints (belonging to Mr. R. Benson, recently exhibited at Burlington House), have a landscape setting of woods, fields, and river. Sir. F. Cook's *Madonna and Child with St. George* is set in a rock-cave, with jagged blue peaks behind; it would appear to have suffered from retouching.

GIOVANNI ANTONIO BOLTRAFFIO [1467–1516]

Boltraffio may be chosen to represent Lionardo's actual pupils, the Vincian School. He is less affected and insipid than Gianpetrino, Cesare da Sesto, Marco d'Oggiono, Salaini, and others, who imitated, or rather caricatured, their master alike in fantastic peaks and grottoes and in type of face and smile, as well as in small details like his favourite jonquil or columbine. One may note in passing that the large, unpleasing

landscape of the *Magi* in the Palazzo Borromeo, Milan, assigned by Morelli to Cesare da Sesto, has been disputed (*cf.* Burlington Fine Arts Catalogue, p. lxix). Cesare is seen to advantage in Sir F. Cook's *St. Jerome*, with its delicate, but artificial landscape of dark-foliaged trees, towers on wooded crags, pale blue mountains, and water. Boltraffio is far more obsessed by Lionardo than Luini ever was, though not lacking in original charm, and in skill in portraiture. His landscapes are often minutely finished—one may instance the *Narcissus* and Salting *Madonna* of the National Gallery, with their dark trees and rocks, their distant hills and quiet water, and their clear skies. In the former, the effect is very simply gained. Both Boltraffio and Solario recall the Umbrians in their slender, feathery trees. Signor Crespi's *Madonna* has also a charming setting of a river, edged with trees, and blue mountains, in soft evening light. Heavier and less inspired is the landscape—again water, mountains, and trees—of the *Two divoti* in the Brera.

GAUDENZIO FERRARI [*circa* 1480–1546]

Two post-Vincian painters, who show traces of Lionardo's influence, but to a far less absorbing extent, are Gaudenzio Ferrari and Solario. Gaudenzio is supposed to have been a pupil of Spanzotto of Vercelli, the first master of Bazzi; he has a good deal in common with the Umbrians and Luini, and shows power in his figures, though his landscapes are not particularly noteworthy. The familiar feature of the green hedge

behind figures occurs in his *Madonna and Saints* of the Palazzo Borromeo (No. 12), and in the *Dancing Cupids* of the Lochis Collection, Bergamo ; in the latter, blue mountains are seen in the distance, as again (through a window) in the Louvre *St. Paul* (No. 1285). Landscape and sky in this are hard ; a small ruined amphitheatre is introduced, and a town with a bridge. That Gaudenzio was not insensible to poetical effects of light is seen in his *Resurrection* of the National Gallery, where the clear, grey-green sky is steeped in subdued light, above a line of hills in a rather deeper shade of the same quiet hue.

At † Varallo, several of the panels in the large polyptych on the choir-screen in Sta. Maria delle Grazie have landscape backgrounds, that of the *Baptism* being perhaps the finest ; Gaudenzio also executed the fresco landscapes behind some of the terra-cotta groups of the *Sacro Monte*.

In the *St. Sebastian* of the Palazzo Borromeo, Milan, the boughs and foliage of the oak-tree to which the Saint is bound are realistic, but the background of hills and water is not equally successful.

ANDREA SOLARIO [*fl.* 1490–1515]

Solario, the best of Lombard landscapists, appears a Milanese among the Venetians, a Venetian among the Milanese. Both Venetian and Flemish influences are apparent in his work, due to residence in Venice, and knowledge of, if not personal acquaintance with, Antonello da Messina. Solario's landscapes, introduced

behind many of his portraits and Madonnas, are of enamel-like finish and rich colour; they have, however, something of the Lombard heaviness, and are still somewhat artificial and selected, if compared with Bellini. Ranges of distant blue hills, brownish green fields, and tall brown trees, some of which are bare, are typical features, and may be seen in the two fine Solario landscapes in the National Gallery, the portraits of Longoni and of a Senator (Nos. 734 and 923). In the former, water winds among the trees, and men are seen with a boat, and a horseman chasing deer. Solario sometimes gives a pale saffron light in the sky such as Lotto and other Venetians also introduce.

Mountain and lake views are common with Solario, as with the other Milanese; they may be seen, for example, in his Brera picture (No. 285) and at Bergamo, (Lochis Collection, No. 6); the latter is not very striking, and lacks his usual warmth. Another instance is the *Holy Family* of the Poldi Pezzoli Museum, painted in 1515, with reflections in the water, and a sky of deeper blue than usual. This resembles to some extent the two Luinis in the same Collection. Realism is shown in the splendid *Charles d'Amboise* of the Louvre, where the Alps, touched with snow, appear as they do from Milan; water, with a town on the shore, is seen below. The neighbouring *Crucifixion* (No. 1532) has an elaborate, carefully treated, but conventional landscape, of trees among rocks and fields, peaceful water, and hills against a hard, clear sky. Bellini is recalled in the stony foreground, the pink,

Brogi

ST. SEBASTIAN

FROM THE PICTURE BY BAZZI IN THE UFFIZI, FLORENCE. (*See p.* 207)

One of Bazzi's romantic landscapes: note the subtle chiaroscuro, and his favourite cascade and arches

walled town, and the castle on a crag above. A very delicate landscape, free from heaviness, is that of Signor Crespi's *Madonna*, where pale hills melt into the pale sky, and feathery trees stand out against it. In the same Collection, a *Man's Portrait* has a small landscape, seen through a square opening, of houses among trees, and water, rather like that by Bartolommeo Veneto in the Ambrosiana Gallery. The *Madonna and Saints* of the Castello, Milan, has a landscape of the usual type, less pleasing in colour than some, and with a very unreal grass-covered rock in layers, in one corner. (An *Annunciation* by Solario was on loan in the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1911, but it was pointed out that its landscape had been added by a Dutch hand in the seventeenth century.)

* * *

II. GIOVANNANTONIO BAZZI (SODOMA) [1477–1549]

Giovannantonio Bazzi is one of the most unequal of Italian painters, so entrancing when at his best, but so apt to become theatrical or sentimental. He has suffered from being considered a mere imitator of Lionardo, whereas, impressionable as he was, his originality and artistic individuality are sufficiently shown in his Monte Oliveto frescoes, his portraits, and some of his *Madonna* types. Never, so far as we know, an actual pupil of Lionardo, he was irresistibly drawn into that mighty orbit, and touched by that magician's wand, and Lionardo's was the paramount influence

upon him throughout his career. But, even so, how different he is from a Lanini, a Cesare da Sesto, or a Gianpetrini! Bazzi was influenced in a quite secondary way by the Umbrians, by personal contact with Pintoricchio in Siena, and Raffaelle in Rome, and probably through his first master, Martino Spanzotto, a native like himself of Vercelli, in Piedmont. Bazzi remained fundamentally Lombard, as did Solario, and his rich landscapes are usually Lombard in type. He had a real love for scenery, and introduces it constantly and skilfully. "His treatment of natural scenery," says Mr. Langton Douglas, "is singularly artistic. In composing a landscape he selects elements which, whether from association or from inherent beauty, are capable of giving us calm, abiding pleasure. He combines these into one harmonious whole." ("History of Siena," p. 408.) Their landscape backgrounds add greatly to the attractiveness of the Monte Oliveto frescoes; here too we see Bazzi's love of animals and birds, many of his quaint household pets being represented.

Long residence in Siena—which made him the idol of the later Sienese School, quickened into exotic and autumnal blossoming under his influence and that of Pintoricchio—was not perhaps the best thing for Bazzi himself; more exacting art-surroundings and patrons might have stimulated him to more disciplined effort, more of that "fundamental brain-work" which Rossetti described as essential to the highest art-production.

Bazzi's Landscapes

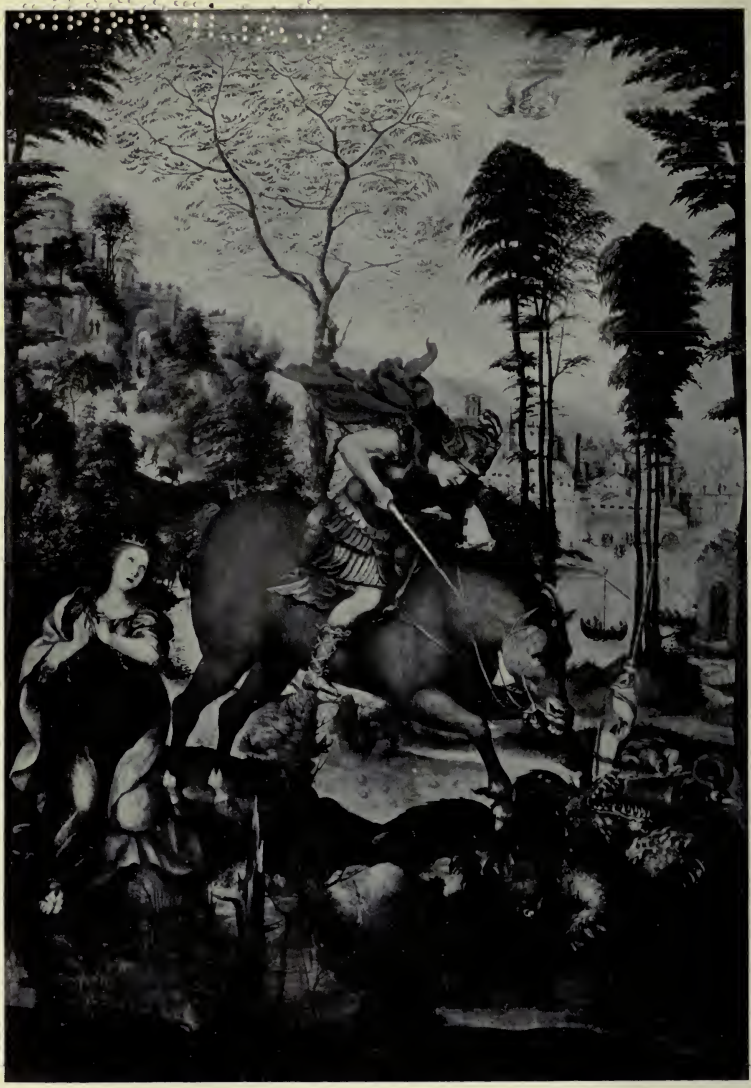
Bazzi's landscape colouring varies considerably, sometimes it is light, cold, and yet almost gaudy, as in that of the Pisa *Sacrifice of Isaac*, with its predominance of ultramarine, a colour too much in evidence in the mountains and sky of the *tondo Nativity* in the Siena Gallery also ; sometimes it is almost monochrome, as in the *St. Sebastian* of the Uffizi, where the effect is, no doubt, partly due to fading. More often it is mellow and harmonious, or pervaded by the mysterious greenish light that we have observed in Lionardo, the *Holy Family* of the Borghese Gallery (No. 459) being a good example of this. Bazzi's characteristic landscape is a richly wooded valley, with low hills, and buildings among trees ; usually there is a broad river, often forming slight cascades, or spanned by arches and bridges ; the trees are dark-foliaged, with tufted creepers, mingling with others of the feathery type. Sometimes they are bare, as so often in the Schools of North Italy.

The *St. Sebastian* of the Uffizi, painted in 1525 as a banner, has the most beautiful of all Bazzi's landscapes ; it is of the above description, with far-stretching wooded hills, faintly seen water, and rose-flushed clouds. Classical buildings are often introduced, such as the Temple at Tivoli in the famous *Svenimento* at San Domenico, Siena ; the Castle of Sant' Angelo and other buildings at Rome in two of the Monte Oliveto scenes, and the ruins recalling the Colosseum in the *Madonna* of the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena. The Colosseum and Arch of Constantine appear in an early

fresco at Sant' Anna in Creta, an Olivetan Convent near Pienza.[1] It has been suggested that the frequent introduction of Roman buildings into pictures by artists who had not visited Rome (as Bazzi then had not) may be due to the popularity of a book of Roman views, *Antiquarie prospettiche Romane*, towards the end of the fifteenth century. In the contract for these Sant' Anna frescoes, we get an interesting insight into the place of landscape in the scheme, Fra Andrea, the Convent cellarer, stipulating that the painter "depegnerà . . . con li payse et prospectivi belli et laudabili infra alcuna storia."

A typical Lombard landscape of Bazzi's early period is that of the great *Deposition* in the Academy, Siena, it is spacious, but rather too map-like. Hills, trees, and water are in various shades of blue-green, with a bare brown foreground; the golden rose flush in the lower part of the sky anticipates that of the *Christ at the Column* in the same Gallery, where some water reflects the warm light, and a tree is silhouetted against it. Dark trees against a sunset sky are also seen in the solemn *Pietà* of the Borghese Gallery (No. 462), and the *Madonna and Saints* of the Corsini Gallery. An early portrait, that of a † *Lady*, at Frankfort, has a glimpse of hills and water, with a town among trees, seen through an open window. Three pictures, painted about this time (1503), are supposed to have belonged to a series—the *Judith* of the

[1] I have not seen this series, and am indebted for information about them to Mr. Cust, "Bazzi," pp. 79 (note), 80, 268.



Anderson

ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON

FROM THE PICTURE BY BAZZI IN SIR F. COOK'S COLLECTION, RICHMOND. (*See p.* 212)

Another romantic landscape by this painter; note the vista of river through the trees, the fine acacia bursting into leaf, the stately buildings among foliage on the hill-slope

Academy, Siena (No. 354), the *Charitas* at Berlin, and the † *Lucretia* at Hanover; they have rather formal landscapes, with the usual well-watered valley, brown trees, and hills with towers, under a clear, hard sky. Some of the trees in the *Judith* are almost bare, as is one in the *Charitas*, in whose boughs the Pelican is appropriately seen on her nest.

The great series of frescoes depicting the life of St. Benedict at Monte Oliveto show Bazzi as a master of that method; damaged as they are, they are still full of charm and power. They were executed between 1505 and 1508. Delicate and harmonious in colour, their scenery is pastoral, spacious, and full of variety. Its main features are hills, slender trees—such as poplars and acacias, with somewhat sketchy foliage—and rivers, spanned by little bridges; these last, and the almost pagoda-like houses in some scenes amusingly recall the willow-pattern plate scenery.[1] A palm and pomegranate and fig-tree appear in different scenes. The tall blue-flowered columbine was, perhaps, borrowed from Lionardo; in the scene with the shepherds, one of them carries a realistic basket of cherries. Among the best landscapes we may mention *Benedict receiving the Habit*, with its pastoral scene of shepherds and sheep, and deer drinking from a stream among trees; the miniature, distant view, in lovely light, seen through a barred window in the *Convent Building;* and the *Finding of the Spring*, with its

[1] This and other suggestions I owe to my friend and fellow-traveller, Miss O. Hepburn.

grassy slopes of varied shrubs and trees, and animals drinking from a stream. The animals, as we have said, are all very natural, from the little white terrier in the *Dancing Women* to Bazzi's own pet badger standing by him in one scene, and drinking from a pool in another. The raven, magpie, ape, and Indian doves which also appear were all inhabitants of what Vasari contemptuously terms his "Noah's Ark"; a sleeping cat, and peacock on an arch, are also most lifelike. We see a cock and hen too, a swan, and falcon on a man's wrist, while a stag-hunt takes place in the background of the *Burial of a Monk*, with its red-roofed farm and haycocks. There is some good classical architecture, notably the temple with colonnades, and the arch, in the *Broken Dish* scene, the portico in the *Dancing Women*, and the Roman buildings to which we have already referred. The pale-tinted, luminous skies, with their evening glow, are very lovely, and are seen in several of the frescoes, as, for example, in the *Maurus rescuing Placidus*. Specially noticeable are the beautiful distant horizon of the *Monte Cassino* and the wintry orange sunset seen under an arch, between bare and slender tree-boughs, in the *Food brought by Miracle*. In the *St. Benedict made Abbot*, beams of light break from a dark cloud.

No less skilful representations of rays of light—those of sunrise—are to be seen in two other frescoes at Siena, the *Resurrection* of the Palazzo Pubblico (Syndic's Apartments), and the *Christ in Hades* of the Academy. The sky in both is serene, and the hues of

water, hills, and trees light and fresh, suggesting spring. A burst of stormy orange sunset through clouds, with dark rocks set against it, is seen in the *Entombment* of the Duomo, Pisa; the neighbouring picture of *Isaac* is, as we have said, unpleasing in its hard, light blues of sky, mountains, and sea. Light colour and confused composition mark the artificial landscape of the *Magi* at Sant' Agostino, Siena; its fantastic, grass-hung rocks are in pale lilac, and its trees, of tufted brown and green foliage, occur constantly in Bazzi's pictures. We see them again, for instance, in the *Madonna and Saints* of the Museo, Pisa, with small birds in their branches. The *Madonna and Child* of the Brera (No. 286) has a lovely distance, and reflections in water, with a columbine and poppy in the foreground; the blue and pink hues of its sunset sky are, however, slightly gaudy.

Of the celebrated frescoes at San Domenico, Siena, we need only say that the landscapes show the characteristics of Bazzi described above, with classical buildings and, in the *Execution of Toldo*, a view of one part of Siena. They are quiet in colour, and their skies and general effect are very pleasing. The same remarks apply to the Borghese *Holy Family*, of whose colouring we have already spoken. The *Leda* of this gallery (No. 434)—still vaguely attributed there to the "School of Lionardo," but probably, as Morelli argues, a good, early copy of a lost picture by our artist—has another typical landscape of low, grey hills and grey water, dark trees and rocks, and grey sky with pale

light in it—the whole very fine, and of subdued, harmonious colour. The dove, finch, and thrush, and the poppies, daisies, violets, and other flowers in the grass, are beautiful details. Careful details are also seen in two pictures of *St. George*, one in the Castello, Milan, the other in Sir F. Cook's Collection; both of these have fine landscapes, in Bazzi's lighter scheme of colouring. Both have forget-me-not blue skies, and water, with houses on the shore among trees. In the latter, painted in 1518, a wooded crag, with a castle, rises on the left, and, in the centre, an acacia in fresh, young leaf contrasts with dark-foliaged, pear-shaped trees on the river-bank. The distance is made to stand back in a very successful manner, partly by the aid of these trees. In the foreground is a pool, with reeds, and reflections in the water. The Milan picture has ranges of blue-grey mountains, and an uneven, wooded plain at their feet. The branches and twigs of some bare trees, overgrown with creepers, are well rendered; in one, some squirrels are seen, and birds on a nest. Ivy covers a stump in the foreground.

Some Later Sienese

FUNGAI, PACCHIA, BECCAFUMI

BERNARDINO FUNGAI [1460–1516]
GIROLAMO DEL PACCHIA [1477–1535]

Of the later Sienese eclectics, we may briefly mention Fungai, his pupil Pacchia, and Beccafumi, the two

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ALLEGORY—FORTUNE OR VENUS (?)

FROM THE PICTURE BY GIOVANNI BELLINI IN THE ACCADEMIA, VENICE. (*See p.* 222)

Note the liquid transparency of the water, lightly fretted into foam, and the fine sky, with the hills outlined against it

former influenced by the Umbrians, the latter by Fra Bartolommeo. Pacchia also shows the influence of Florence, and of Bazzi. None of these painters can be called great, and Beccafumi's ambition far outsoared his capacity. All three, however, show some feeling for landscape, and have left pleasant examples of it, such as the *Madonnas* by Fungai and Pacchia respectively in the National Gallery, with their subdued grey-green hills and sky, recalling some of Bazzi's backgrounds. Similar colouring is seen in Fungai's (supposed) *Alexander* in Sir F. Cook's Collection (No. 18), with its feathery Umbrian trees. Mr. Berenson considers that the *Griselda* series of the National Gallery (*cf.* p. 104) may perhaps be by Fungai, we should have thought them, although watered down, more definitely Peruginesque. Fungai's *Madonna and Saints* and *Assumption* of the Academy, Siena, recall Francesco di Giorgio and Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, Fiorenzo's favourite rock-arches being several times repeated in the former; hills slope to the horizon in both, and there is water, and a plain dotted with darker trees. In the *Assumption*, trees and a spire stand out against the sky, which has a faint, evening glow, and there are stiff roses and clove pinks in the empty tomb. Less formal, but somewhat insipid, is the *Annunciation and Visitation* (No. 410) of Pacchia, obviously suggested by Albertinelli; the sky is full of light and the landscape bathed in mist.

DOMENICO BECCAFUMI [1485–1551]

Beccafumi was a rival of Bazzi's for Sienese favour, although far inferior to him in power. He probably, as Mr. Langton Douglas and Mr. Cust have suggested, whispered insinuations against his rival, after the latter's death, into his friend Vasari's ear. Beccafumi attracts us little as a rule, but we find ourselves surprised into whole-hearted admiration of the landscape of his *St. Catherine before the Crucifix* (Academy, Siena, No. 420). Although recalling Fra Bartolommeo, its direct inspiration was from Nature herself. Under a rounded arch is seen a great expanse of sky, flecked with fleecy clouds, and below it lies a misty landscape, its pale blue horizon and light green fields veiled in quivering haze ; a mill stands on the grassy banks of a stream, amid tall, delicate trees. The whole effect is lovely. The less poetical background of the *Judith* in the Wallace Collection also suggests Fra Bartolommeo ; here again are slender trees, some leafless, some with feathery brown foliage, against a pale, clear sky ; a low line of grey hills forms the distance, with brownish slopes in the foreground.

* * *

Before taking leave of the Schools of Central and North Italy and passing on to the distinctive and, to some extent, isolated School of Venice, with its branches on the Venetian mainland, it may be well to consider briefly how far our study hitherto has led us. Amid so much detailed description, and the mention

of so many names, one is apt to lose proportion, and to forget that to some few outstanding painters are really due the several steps that we have noted in landscape progress. One thinks instinctively of Giotto, with his new sense of horizons; of Masaccio, with his mountain-realism; of Piero dei Franceschi and the Verrocchio group, with their faithful study of Nature; of Perugino and Pintoricchio, with their spacious serenity in sky and landscape; of Dosso, Lionardo, and Correggio, with their subtly modulated lights and shadows. A love of flowers we have noticed in very many widely differing painters, from the Sienese to Crivelli. The characteristics of the different Schools have already been sufficiently indicated, and the measure in which they attained their several aims. Lovely and true as are many of their renderings of peaceful Nature, these painters were mostly content to ignore her sterner aspects, or, in attempting them, they became merely horrific and fantastic; beautiful as are their cloudless skies, we rarely find them painting clouds with understanding or success; with but few exceptions, their mountains are, as we have seen, unreal. It is in the truer rendering of features such as these, as also in felicitous variety of colour and, above all, in fuller mastery of light and atmosphere, that we shall find the painters of the rest of Italy outstripped and excelled by the Venetians.

CHAPTER XI

THE EARLIER VENETIANS, 1450–1530. (GIOVANNI BELLINI, CIMA DA CONEGLIANO, BASAITI, BISSOLO, CARPACCIO, CATENA, ROCCO MARCONI)

GIOVANNI BELLINI [(?) 1430–1516]

WE have already considered Giovanni Bellini under the influence of his father Jacopo and in contact with the School of Squarcione at Padua ; we must now treat of him as the great Venetian master, ever himself expanding and developing, the founder of a School of close imitators, the inspirer of others who, like Cima, had received their first teaching elsewhere. And Giovanni's expansion and development are at least as noticeable in his landscapes as in his figures, and are typical of the progress made by the Venetians in general. His landscapes, in their selection of appropriate features, their variety, their flowing line, their naturalness, their golden glow, and, above all, their atmosphere, are a new departure in this branch of painting, and a worthy prelude to the full harmonies of Giorgione and Titian. If it be true that " to travel hopefully is a better thing than to arrive," it is doubtful if even they are more satisfying than Bellini at his best, and certainly no painter before him

had so carried us into the open air, warmed us with sunshine, quickened us with light breezes, or rendered the world of Nature at once so noble and so near. We do not forget the lovely Umbrian landscapes of his contemporary, Perugino, but these, spacious in themselves, yet represent a limited view-point; they lack Bellini's diversity and generalisation, his sense of being actually in the open. They are Umbria indeed, but Umbria as mirrored in a glass or a dream. With Bellini, we are set as a rule under the clear sky of a spring day, fresh and temperate, a light wind driving the clouds across it; we have none of the brooding thunder-heat of Giorgione, or Tintoretto's tempest-riven gloom. Nor is the scenery usually exaggerated, as we feel even Titian's forest-trees occasionally to be; it is simple without insipidity, and rich without over-luxuriance. Mountains and hills give the needful touch of austerity and aspiration, towered castles speak of romance, the green, tree-shaded meadows below sound the pastoral note. Sometimes, as in some of the Allegories, there is water. Twilight and autumn Bellini can render, but he prefers full sunlight, or an evening hour earlier than Titian's, with more colour lingering. It is not to landscapes such as these, or to those copied from them by Bellini's followers, that Ruskin's remarks on the "pride" of Venetian landscape, its "prevailing idea" of mountains and forest, its absence of "rural labour" and "nestling villages," can apply, and it is only with many exceptions and reservations that they can be considered to

describe landscapes by Titian (to whom Ruskin was mainly referring) or Tintoretto, by Palma, Bonifazio, or Bassano.

One of the earliest landscapes of the type Bellini was to make his own is that of the *Transfiguration* at Naples, painted shortly before 1480. Far improved as it is on the Mantegnesque, some traces of Jacopo still remain in the castle crowning one hill, the bare tree standing singly, the lopped trunk in the foreground, and the fence made of slender stems and boughs. The methodically split rocks also survive in the centre hillock, the small plants springing from their crevices being painted with exquisite minuteness and realism. A splendid tree in full foliage balances the leafless one, the massed clouds are fine, and the colouring, rather hot and hard though it is, gives a general effect of autumn. Two notable buildings of Ravenna, the tower of Sant' Apollinare in Classe and the Tomb of Theodoric, are, as Mr. Fry points out, introduced into the background, but they are not set, as in reality, amid Ravenna's dykes and marshlands, but in a rich, hilly landscape, whose wooded slopes rise to steeper mountains in the distance, and are bordered by fertile fields, across which a herdsman drives his cattle.

The altarpiece in San Francesco, Pesaro (unfortunately inaccessible when I was there), was probably painted a few years later; its landscape occupies so prominent a place that, to quote Mr. Fry (p. 29), "at first sight the 'Coronation' itself and the

attendant Saints seem almost accessory to it." It is set like a panel framed in the marble back of the throne, above the heads of the two principal figures. (For a similar treatment by Costa, *cf.* p. 156.) The background consists of fortified walls and towers ascending a wooded hill, under a sunset sky. Exactly the same hill-citadel is seen in the † Murano altarpiece; distant mountains rise behind, and an almost bare tree stands in front, others in leaf fill the left side of the background. A peacock and a stork and partridge are perched on the low screen and tiled terrace.

Many of Bellini's pictures have architectural settings only, such as that in the Sala dell' Assunta of the Academy; others, like that of San Zaccaria or the *Madonna degli Alberetti* (Academy), have little more than a tree or two against the sky. Another *Madonna* in the Academy (No. 692) gives a great sense of space and air; water winds through its wide plain among dark shrubs and trees; in the distance, green hills are seen, with towers and walls at their base. The fine altarpiece of San Francesco della Vigna, with its hills and sunset clouds, is now dark and much injured.

A *Madonna* at Bergamo (Morelli Collection, No. 41) is less interesting, its sky and fields being somewhat monotonous.

A splendid, typical background is that of the long-shaped *Madonna and Child* in the Brera (No. 215), dated 1510. The sky is a deep blue, shading to pale primrose; in the distance, blue mountains are seen against it. Steep, wooded hills rise in the centre,

with towers and walls, and all the foreground is pastoral. Farms and high-roofed barns nestle in the fields, which are marked out by hedges; a plank bridge has a rustic hand-rail like that of the *Transfiguration.* Two men stand at a well, others talk under a tree, one rides on horseback; a shepherd watches his flock, and there are birds, and a quaint ape. A fine, leafy tree stands singly on either side, that on the left has a more solid trunk and more natural branches than we often find. From the boughs of the other hang what are presumably long, thin seed-pods, but I have wondered whether they might possibly be some form of bird-snare, as a bird appears to be caught in the topmost twig, and bird-snaring was, we know, much practised in the Veneto.

In this same year, Bellini painted his † *Baptism* in Sta. Corona, Vicenza, obviously under the influence of Cima's treatment of the same theme in San Giovanni in Bragora. This *Baptism* would appear to be one of his most important landscape efforts, its impressiveness depending largely on the hill-encircled water that occupies so much of its space. An oak-sapling with delicate foliage, and a stiff palm, are prominent features.

Bellini's latest picture, the great altarpiece of San Giovanni Crisostomo, painted in 1513, has been described by Ruskin and others with all the enthusiasm that it well merits. Under a rounded arch, and above the low, marble parapet that Bellini so often introduces, the venerable Saint sits on a rocky knoll, reading

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THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST

FROM THE PICTURE BY CIMA IN SAN GIOVANNI IN BRAGORA, VENICE. (*See p.* 225)
This picture shows Cima's characteristic mountains and citadel. The effect of breeze on sky and water should not be overlooked

from a book which is supported by the bent trunk of a fig-tree. Grey-green hills and jagged mountains stretch behind, against a glorious sunset sky, which determines the entire atmospheric effect. Its hues are a soft, clear, greenish blue and golden rose, with streamers of purplish grey cloud, producing a sense of luminous peace never excelled, even by the Umbrians. The fig-leaves are beautifully outlined against it, but we must confess that the conversion of the trunk into a natural lectern, described by Ruskin as "the miraculous subjection of the true nature of the tree," does not appeal to us, as it did to him, as an instance of felicitous "imagination." If the *Baptism* shows Bellini learning from Cima, we here see him in his old age profiting from the noble Castelfranco altarpiece of his young pupil, Giorgione, untimely dead a few years before. Mr. Claude Phillips's[1] suggestion that Basaiti put in the background for Bellini should be noticed; it is possible, as Basaiti had learnt to imitate his master very closely, and evening skies are his strongest point.

We have deferred until now the consideration of Bellini's exquisite Allegories in the Uffizi, and in the Academy, Venice, probably painted during the last fifteen years of the Quattrocento. Their fanciful figure-subjects and much-discussed interpretations do not come within our scope, but landscape enters into most of them. In the Uffizi *Allegory* (there called *Sacra Conversazione*) more especially, it is a landscape

[1] "Earlier Work of Titian," p. 66.

more unreal and mysterious than Bellini's usual type. The still lake, with its steep mountain-walls and sombre woods, suggests a scene on which we have come unawares in some dream, rather than any actual water to be found among the Euganean Hills or near the Lago di Garda; here Excalibur might have been cast away, or the Lorelei have sung. Its pale green waters reflect the evening sky and the white buildings on its shore. The brown rock-masses, tufted with shrubs, are wild and stern, the haunt of Centaurs and other strange beasts; the eye turns with pleasure to the marble enclosure of the foreground, where children shake down fruit from an orange-tree growing in a bowl. The wattled fence and bare saplings recall Paduan traditions, as do the strata of the rocks.

Water with reflections, dark rocks, and sunset skies enter into the small, decorative series at the Academy, Venice (No. 595), the centre panel of which is probably by Jacopo de' Barbari. One specially fantastic rock (on the left) is the most conspicuous feature of its landscape. Of the others, the first (*Ardour and Luxury*—an improvement on the older title *Mars and Bacchus*), has a broad sweep of yellowish green grass, with blue-green hills in the distance, and a grey sky with light clouds; the second (*Fortune* or *Venus*, with the globe), has some of the magic of the Uffizi setting, and the same features there described, but the water is dark, and fretted with tiny white waves. Its liquid transparency is well brought out in connection with the swimming child. The fifth (perhaps *Envy*, in the

form of a shell-monster), has again a lovely sunset sky, with grey clouds ; a russet, towered town is set on a low hill.

GIOVANNI BATTISTA CIMA DA CONEGLIANO [*circa* 1460–1517]

The greatest and most attractive painter among those influenced by Bellini, prior to Giorgione, is undoubtedly Cima da Conegliano. As we have already implied, he was not actually a pupil of Bellini's, but, like Basaiti and the somewhat younger Lorenzo Lotto, received his first training in the rival School of the Vivarini, whereas Carpaccio, Bissolo, and Catena are genuine products of Bellini's *bottega*. Cima is slightly prior in time, as well as in importance, and shall be considered first.

Whether Alvise Vivarini himself, as Mr. Berenson maintains, or his follower Bartolommeo Montagna, as Burckhardt asserts, was the actual master of Cima, matters little, as Montagna admittedly shares many traits with Alvise. Cima's first teaching was undoubtedly Alvisesque, and his style formed before he came in contact with Gian Bellini. After some early work in Vicenza, Cima went to Venice, where he settled for some years, visiting Parma, and returning to his native place for the last few years of his life. Cima's work has always something of the frank and sincere simplicity of the mountaineer, and his own blue Dolomites, with their characteristic, jagged peaks, are inseparably associated with his name in landscape.

Lower than these, come his rocky, grass-grown hills, crowned by some square tower, with projecting battlements, or some walled village; the citadel of Colalto has been identified in some pictures; others, no doubt, give a more or less free representation of the Conegliano of his day. Fair, pastoral scenery, with water sometimes introduced, forms the foreground. The whole is fresh and natural, full of breezy sunshine, or tender, evening light, all painted with Cima's translucent colour. The general similarity to Bellini's landscapes is thus apparent. Such details as plants, birds, or water are carefully portrayed, and yet never obtruded. Exaggerated or fantastic rock formation is occasionally seen, as in the National Gallery *David and Jonathan.* Cima understood the value of sky-space framed in an arch, and of landscape as a link between figures; sometimes it forms a continuous line between groups in several panels, as the mountains do in his † Caen triptych *Madonna and Saints.* Cima also employs splendid Renaissance architecture, such as the church with its inlaid marbles and delicate reliefs in the Parma *Madonna with SS. Michael and Andrew*, or the similar reliefs, classical medallions, and capitals of the cupola in the *St. John Baptist* of the Madonna dell' Orto, Venice. Both these pictures have typical backgrounds — the little, picturesque town crowning its hill, a forget-me-not sky with white clouds, and a foreground of small plants, such as clover and strawberry. The fragments of masonry strewn among them in the Parma picture do not improve the

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ENDYMION

FROM A PICTURE BY CIMA IN THE PINACOTECA, PARMA. (*See p.* 228)

Those who have seen the original of this exquisite pastoral will remember the blue of its distant hills and tiny stream among the trees, its green meadows, and the crescent moon caught, as it were, in the branches

effect, but in the *St. John Baptist* the fig springing from the ruined cupola, and its trailing ivy, as well as the ilex hard by, are exquisitely rendered.

The *Baptism* in San Giovanni in Bragora has a landscape worthy of its noble figures, with its suggestion of a windy morning in the crisp ripples of the water, and the cumulus clouds in its lovely, pale blue sky. A winding path leads up to the castle on the hill, with blue mountains behind. Ducks and swans are seen on the river. The fine figures of SS. Helena and Constantine in the same church are in evening light, with a towered mountain-citadel in the background. Another Venetian church, the Carmine, has an *Adoration of the Shepherds* with fine mountains against a yellowish sky, and a tower and tree in the middle distance. Of the several pictures in the Academy it is enough to say that they have the usual Cima setting already described; in the *Madonna Enthroned* (Sala dell' Assunta), the hills are low and pre-Alpine, and there is one of the thatched houses of the Veneto; in the *Christ and St. Thomas* (No. 611) and the *Tobit* (No. 592), the sky and some trees are especially fine.

Several pictures show Cima's careful detail—the *St. Jerome*, for instance, exhibited in the Grafton Galleries (1911), and a small version of the same subject in the National Gallery. These have much in common, especially in their foregrounds, of rocks, with an oak-thicket, and falcon on a bough. In the former, two partridges are seen beside a stream, stags

in a meadow, and lizards in the rocky foreground; farm-buildings and a church are partly hidden by trees; a characteristic town, "mountain-built with peaceful citadel," glows in the warm light from the sky; blue mountains stretch by the side of a lake, or arm of the sea. In the National Gallery picture, a river takes its place, flowing through a wooded plain. The wisps of thin, grey cloud barring a mountain-side in the larger of these resemble those of Basaiti's *Resurrection* at Milan (*cf.* p. 231). Other examples of rich detail are the † *Madonna and Saints* of the Museo, Vicenza, and the † *Madonna of the Orange-Tree* at Vienna. The former was painted in 1489, and shows the B. Virgin under a vine-trellis, flanked by two pomegranate trees; a lizard runs up the wall. The Vienna picture has other trees, besides the fine orange-tree from which it takes its name, and a spacious rocky landscape, with the usual citadel. A stag and rabbit are seen in the meadows, and some partridges in the foreground.

Of Cima's pictures in the Brera, the *Peter Martyr* (No. 176) has undoubtedly the most interesting landscape, though slightly hard and conventional. We have the typical blue mountains, against a pale blue and amber sky; their ridges are true to Nature, as are the trees crowning a hill-top. Under the trees, in the flat pastures, is seen a shepherd, with his sheep and dog; a castle and group of houses on the lake-shore have suggested Sirmione and Lake Garda to Burckhardt, who finds that classic and lovely spot again in the Louvre *Madonna and Saints* (No. 1259).

Here the reflections of the sky in the still, blue water of the lake are to be noticed, the sky being also blue, with warm, cream-coloured clouds, in sunset light. Dark trees are massed between the mountains and nearer fields. The colouring is strong, and the outlines somewhat hard.

The magnificent *Incredulity of St. Thomas* in the National Gallery has unfortunately only a slight and uninteresting glimpse of landscape,—a crag with turrets, and brown-green grass and trees. The small *Madonna*, closely resembling one in the Venice Academy, together with various other pictures of Cima's, may be summarised as having typical scenery; for example, the *St. Peter* and the *St. Jerome* of the Brera (Nos. 174, 219); the *St. Catherine* of the Wallace Collection; the *Madonna* of Sir F. Cook's Collection (No. 77); those of the Morelli Collection at Bergamo (No. 57), of the Pinacoteca, Bologna (No. 61), and of the Uffizi (No 584 *bis*). The Berlin *Madonna and Donor*, and the Dresden *Salvator Mundi* and *Presentation of the B. Virgin* all show the familiar mountains, and walled town, with a path winding up to it. The *Presentation* has some stiff palm-trees, and fine Venetian architecture; in both it and the *Salvator Mundi* riders on horseback are seen in the distance.

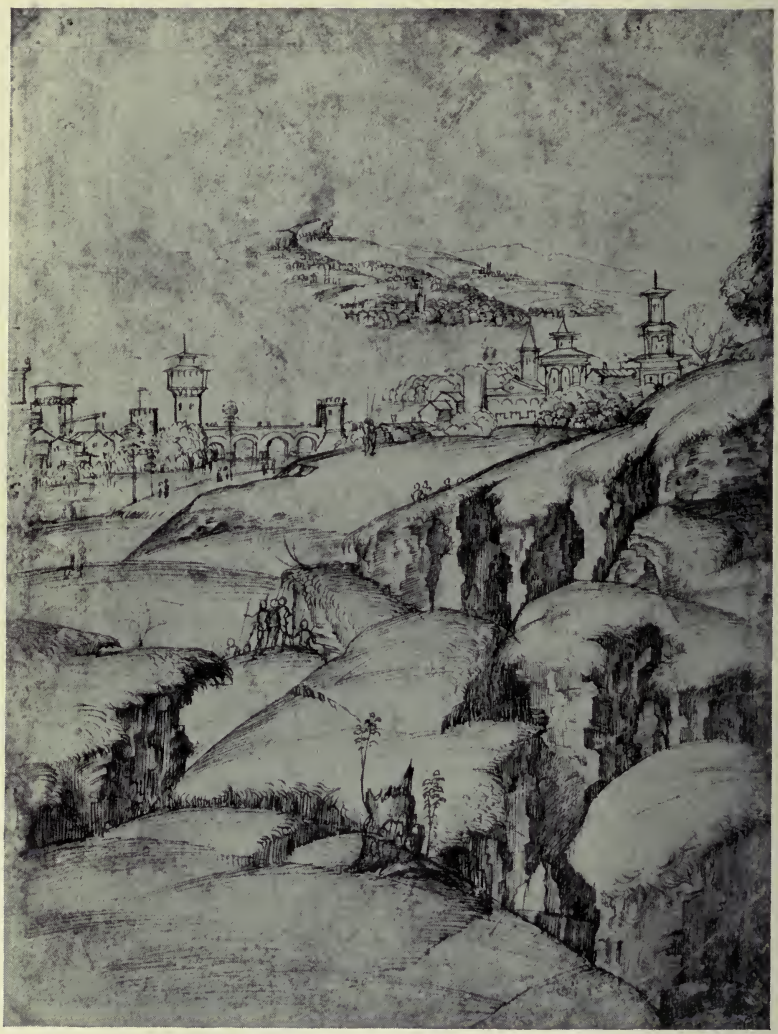
In the pair of small gem-like *tondi* at Parma, with their miniature treatment, Cima reveals himself in a new light—a poet-painter illuminating Pagan myths. There can scarcely be a more fascinating study than that of the interpretation of antiquity through

different medieval eyes, and here Cima, in his typically Venetian *plein air* sanity and directness, comes nearer the Greeks than the more mystical, mood-swayed Botticelli. If the followers of Squarcione, and Mantegna in particular, seemed like ancient Romans reincarnate, Cima here speaks Doric and stretches out an unconscious hand to Theocritus. Keats, too, one feels, would have loved these pictures, fundamentally as he differed in temperament from the Venetians; he springs to our mind here, just as it is his " pipes and timbrels " and " wild ecstasy " that we recall spontaneously whenever we look on Titian's *Bacchus and Ariadne:*

> He was a poet, sure a lover too
> Who stood on Latmos' top, what time there blew
> Soft breezes from the myrtle vale below. . . .

Cima's *Endymion* is a perfect idyll and, save for the shepherd's figure, entirely landscape. His blue hills are not forgotten, but grassy fields, with hedges and clumps of trees, some of them bare, occupy the largest space; in the centre, under an oak-thicket, Endymion lies asleep. Low among the branches above him hangs the lemon crescent moon, symbol of the unseen goddess. A delicious little azure stream falls in a tiny cascade; its low banks are edged with trees, and two cranes stand beside it. A stag and hind lie in the meadow, and the shepherd's dog at his side; all are painted with loving care, like the flower-filled grass, and the wild vine that climbs up the foremost tree-trunk. The same care is shown in the grass and other

Plate 86



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LANDSCAPE DRAWING

BY CIMA, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

This minute pen-study of rocks, river, and architecture has been specially photographed for this book. It is interesting as a study of scenery pure and simple, the figures introduced being so minute as to be negligible

details of the companion *Apollo and Marsyas*, though its landscape takes a more secondary place. Very charming is its wooded valley, through which the river winds, with the path through the fields beside it, and the familiar range of blue mountains behind. The rustic note in this pair of pictures is only emphasised by the faults of drawing in the figures, which are somewhat heavy and stunted.

The British Museum has a page of landscape pen-drawings by Cima ; on one side of the page, there is an extensive, rather uninteresting foreground of rocks, tufted with grass, and conventional in formation. A river fills the middle distance, with a town and battlemented towers on its bank, and a bridge across it. In the farther distance are sloping hills, with groves of low trees, and smaller towers among them. The only figures are quite minute. The other side of the page has apparently fragments of two sketches, the sheer, grass-covered rocks, with saplings springing from them, of the lower part being put in with a broader touch and different ink from the part above. This consists of a range of steep mountains, with wooded slopes at their base ; a square tower in one corner, and other smaller ones dotted about ; light clouds are indicated, and there are no figures at all. It has every appearance of being a sketch from Nature.

MARCO BASAITI [*circa* 1470–1527]

Marco Basaiti was a painter of less marked individuality than Cima, and more of a copyist ; his

colour is often less harmonious, though it has some of the same translucency. His backgrounds also have many of the characteristics common to Bellini's followers—the blue mountains; pebbles, and leafy plants of the foreground; the castle or village on a hill; the bare or half-bare trees, perhaps with a bird on one bough. All these are seen in the exquisite *Madonna and Child* of the National Gallery (No. 599), whose authorship has been hotly contested, but is now assigned, with much probability, to Basaiti. It is a very pleasant pastoral, with its oxen and sheep in the fields, tended by a shepherd in Eastern garb, its slender brown-leaved trees, and white village on the hill. The stork and serpent are a lively detail. Basaiti introduces a shepherd and sheep into several of his pictures, and he excels in the tracery of fine branches against a delicately tinted sky, such as we see in his *Gethsemane* and *Calling of the Sons of Zebedee* in the Academy, Venice—two pictures which, in spite of obvious defects, are very fine. The rocks in them and in other work by Basaiti are quite conventional, and his mountains are sometimes wanting in form. Water is often introduced, with a town beside it, or a bridge crossing it, sometimes it makes a slight waterfall. Basaiti is fond of a blue sky, turning to amber towards the horizon, and with grey clouds, such as we see in his *St. Sebastian* of the Salute, Venice. Its landscape, rather cold in colour, is, like the *St. Jerome* and others in the Academy, of the typical description—blue mountains and water, wooded slopes with towers,

bare or half-bare trees, and a brown foreground. In the *St. George*, the mountains are rounded and grey-green, and there is a boldly treated fig-tree.

An unusually charming harmony of pale grey-blues and browns, with effective touches of white, is afforded by the *Madonna and Saints* of the Crespi Collection, Milan. A white sail flecks the blue water, a white cloud the clear grey sky, and light gleams on the horizon. The mountains are blue, some trees have brown foliage, while others are bare. Here are seen again a shepherd and his flock. Another picture at Milan, the *Resurrection* of the Ambrosiana, shows observation and feeling. Across a distant, castle-crowned hill drift low-hung wisps of thin, grey cloud, while in the still, grey-blue sky shines a solitary point of yellow light—"the least of little stars." Cultivated fields and trees cover the hill's lower slopes, and this lovely distance is contrasted with the harsh pile of rock behind the Saviour. Basaiti painted another very fine version of the *Resurrection*, now in the Morelli Collection, Bergamo (No. 125); a solemn line of deep blue mountains catches the sunrise, from under grey clouds; tall trees stand against the sky, with a river below.

A small *St. Jerome*, hanging near Cima's in the National Gallery, is less soft and glowing than that; the light in its sky is delicate, but the clouds are frilly and unreal. Ranges of undulating purple hills in the distance are fine and naturalistic; there is the usual walled town, leafless tree, and pebbly foreground.

We must now consider the foremost of Bellini's authentic pupils, not attempting to mention all.

FRANCESCO BISSOLO [1464–1528]

Bissolo is probably best known through his gracious *Madonna* in the Church of the Redentore, Venice, so long ascribed to Bellini himself. He has much sweetness and refinement, but lacks force; his landscapes similarly are mild, but not remarkable. Two in the Venice Academy may be noted in passing, they are of the Bellinesque type, but flat, and wanting in atmosphere. The *Christ crowning St. Catherine* (Room V.) has a large landscape, of good colour; blue mountains and fluffy, brownish trees, resembling elms, are seen against a sunset sky. One tree has leaves bigger and fewer than in Nature—a device for simplifying the difficulties of foliage-painting that is often found, as, for example, in Carpaccio, and in the National Gallery *Death of Peter Martyr*. In the *Presentation of the Holy Child to St. Simeon*, there are again mountains and trees, with a church and houses nestling among them; a bird perches on one bough, and a Saint carries two doves; the sky and a lake are both a pale greenish blue. The long line of water on the horizon gives a pleasant sense of space, but the whole is tame.

VITTORE CARPACCIO [*fl.* 1478–1522]

Far more full of character and romantic charm is Carpaccio, the Pintoricchio of Venice, the naive

raconteur where Bellini is the nobly grave poet. Processions and fairy-tales are his delight, fantastic costumes, Oriental carpets, and all manner of dainty *genre* details. Possibly if he had not been born in the great time and the great School that he was, he might not have surpassed mediocrity; possibly if his genius had not chanced to chime so exactly with Ruskin's, he might not have been set on such a pedestal by the last generation. Now, while fully recognising his charm, we can hardly rank him in serious achievement with Cima, and, in landscape especially, we feel him retrograde and archaic after Bellini. Signor Molmenti claims Bastiani as his actual master, largely from a comparison of their trees, which are very similar in type, and very conventional; in one instance at any rate we know that the two collaborated. The same author also points out that several of Carpaccio's architectural features are copied from wood-engravings after drawings made in the East by a German, Reuvich; he instances the two chief towers in the *Departure of St. Ursula and her Betrothed* (a drawing for which is in the British Museum), as taken from the actual towers at Candia and Rhodes, and two buildings in the *Triumph of St. George*, in San Giorgio Schiavone, as taken from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Temple at Jerusalem. The theory is a possible one, but Carpaccio's buildings have been considerably modified from the original drawings, and are such as might have been introduced without them. He excels in the use of stately Venetian architecture, his

pageant pictures having much in common with those of Gentile Bellini. In the *St. Ursula* scenes laid in Britain, the eccentric architecture and ultra-fantastic landscape are doubtless intended to show the outlandish barbarity of that country. There is perhaps an attempt to portray the Sabine Hills and Castle of Sant' Angelo in the *St. Ursula at Rome*, but Cologne is frankly unreal. Palm-trees supply an Eastern note in several scenes, as in the fine Carpaccio exhibited at the Grafton Galleries in 1910. His rocks are sometimes fantastic to the point of absurdity, his clouds, whether curly, or thin and flat, are conventional, and his water lacks depth ; reflections are sometimes given, as in the *St. Ursula* series. The flowers in these—carnations, thistle, myrtle, strawberry—will not bear comparison with Bellini or Cima, nor does Carpaccio give us the feeling of open-air reality of which we are so conscious in them. Many of his animals are, however, delightful ; what can be more natural than the two rabbits nibbling a leaf in the *Nativity of Our Lady* in the Gallery at Bergamo, or the parrot and greyhound in the *Baptism of the Princess* at San Giorgio Schiavone, or the pheasants, peacocks, fawns, and rabbits scattered about in others of his works ? What more charming instance of fanciful invention can there be than the Basilisk of St. Tryphonius ? [1] The lion of St. Jerome (in the same Church), is mild and deprecatory. Other *genre*

[1] In San Giorgio Schiavone. The scene is really an exorcism of the devil ! The reader is referred to the diverting account from a fifteenth century MS. quoted in Molmenti, pp. 138–9.

details, very carefully rendered, are the books, statuettes, scientific apparatus, and other furniture in that Saint's study. Bellini is recalled in the half-bare tree of the Schiavone *Gethsemane*, and elsewhere, and in the pinkish town at the base of the *SS. Joachim and Anna* in the Academy, Venice. This is a late work, and somewhat heavy; a tree in the middle distance resembles an enlarged fern-leaf more than anything else. Another Academy picture, the *Ten Thousand Martyrs*, is a very poor composition, as the subject rendered inevitable; lightning flashes among the dark clouds, and the trees are fantastic. Carpaccio is at his best in his distances, as in the two *St. Stephen* pictures of the Brera and at Berlin; a *Madonna and Saints*, also at Berlin, has a splendid evening sky. One of his finest landscapes is that of the *St. George and the Dragon*, in San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice, with its romantic wooded slopes, and lake, but it is marred by some very unreal crags in the left corner. In the *Death of the B. Virgin* in the Museo, Ferrara, cypresses and other trees are seen over a wall, and in the distance gentle hills, marked out by lines of trees. A broad, curving river, with trees on its banks, and hills beyond, is seen in a † drawing at Chatsworth. A view of the Ducal Palace and Campanile at Venice, with galleys in full sail on the lagoon, completes the *Lion of St. Mark* painted for the Ducal Palace, while the town of Udine is depicted, according to Signor Molmenti, in the background of a † picture now at Vienna. This picture, painted in 1496, has a special interest in

comparison with Giovanni Bellini and Crivelli, as it represents Christ, holding the instruments of the Passion, shedding His Blood into a chalice—a subject treated by both of them, as we have seen (*cf.* p. 83). The position of the central Figure here is very similar. Mr. R. H. Benson's *Saint Reading* has a lake background.

VINCENZO DI BIAGIO (CATENA) [*fl.* 1495–1531]

Catena is perhaps the most powerful and attractive of Bellini's own pupils. Less fanciful than Carpaccio, he has the great manner, the rich glow of colour, the massive treatment of figures and foliage and coast-line that enabled him to merge his Bellini inheritance in the new world opened up by Giorgione, whom he studied in later life. His atmospheric effects are denser than Bellini's. The National Gallery is fortunate in possessing several examples of Catena; in the fine *Warrior adoring the Infant Christ*, blue mountains, a grove of trees, and a church with a picturesque, round-topped campanile in the middle distance, are set against a clear, sunset sky, with a lovely apricot glow. Two quails are seen in one corner; another is St. Jerome's companion in his study, the window of which looks out on the sea. Masses of dark foliage, and a bank of rosy cloud are seen in the other *Adoration;* its sunset light is reflected by a small cascade, and some buildings. Lord Brownlow's † *Nativity* has a beautiful background

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THE MADONNA OF THE MEADOW

FROM THE PICTURE BY BASAITI IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY. (*See p.* 230)

A picture full of spring freshness, with its clear sky, and light on fleecy clouds. Observe the shepherd in Eastern garb, the stork and serpent, with the bare trees and pebbly foreground typical of Bellini and his school

of hills, dotted with trees, among which a path winds to the towered citadel on the summit. The foliage of the trees is fine; a greyhound, and some flowering plants are seen in the foreground, which is strewn with pebbles in the Bellinesque manner.

Hill-set towns are found in Catena as in Cima. We see them, for instance, in a *Madonna and Saints* of the Venice Academy (No. 348), and in another in the Conservatori, Rome. The magnificent † *Sta. Cristina* of Sta. Maria Mater Domini, Venice, has a spacious seascape, with broad horizon and low, wooded shores, all grandly and simply treated. Towers and mountain-ranges are seen behind.

ROCCO MARCONI [*fl.* 1500–1530 (*circa*)]

Rocco Marconi deserves a brief mention in the story of landscape-painting by reason of his *Deposition* in the Academy, Venice (No. 160), and the suggested attribution to him of the Bellinesque *Death of Peter Martyr* in the National Gallery. The former is as sincere an attempt as can be found to depict Nature with truth, it has some beautiful details, and is harmonious as a whole. Its pale blue and pale gold sunset sky, with the distant blue mountains against it, gives a feeling of peace, but the treatment is flat, and some rock-masses and rounded hills are unsatisfactory. The eye is at once caught by the realistic fig and olive trees to the right of the Cross; other more conventional trees are seen in the background; one is leafless. There are some sheep, and two white rabbits on the shrub-grown

rocks. A village by some grey water occupies the middle distance.

The well-known National Gallery picture,[1] so long ascribed to Gian Bellini himself, is quiet in colour, its predominant hue being that of the grey-green ilexes in a dense grove, their foliage carefully treated (*cf.* p. 232), their boughs simply forked. Light falls between their stems on the delicate undergrowth, and the leafy herbage is delicately painted too. In the distance are some blue hills, and a little town with towers. Some of the leafless trees, typical of the School, are seen, also oxen, and shepherds with sheep and a dog ; woodcutters, and men at a well—furnishing another instance, in despite of Ruskin, of " rural labour " in Venetian painting. It is found so absorbing that those engaged in it do not appear disturbed by the murder taking place within a few yards of them !

Marconi's *Madonna* in Sir F. Cook's Collection (signed " J. Bellini ") has a soft, greenish colour in its fields and sky. One or two of his other pictures in private collections have landscapes introduced.

[1] These sheets were in the press before the opening of the Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition (January 1912), at which another version of this picture, with slight variations, was shown. The trees here too were carefully treated.

CHAPTER XII

GIORGIONE. TITIAN: EARLIER AND MIDDLE PERIODS. PALMA VECCHIO. 1478 – 1548

GIORGIONE [1478–1510]

WITH Giorgione and his compeer and contemporary Titian, we reach the climax of landscape-painting in Italy. If with Bellini we scaled ridges untrodden before, with these the Ark rests on the mountain-top. Although Giorgione's early death, like that of Masaccio a century before, was an incalculable loss to Art, he left behind him traditions that were carried on by Titian and a host of lesser men, and that reacted on his own master Bellini in old age. That master had prepared the way for him, in colour and in approach to Nature, but Bellini's Spring ripens to Summer in Giorgione and the young Titian. The cold, pure sky and landscape of the Bellinesques yield place to the glowing heavens and rich, romantic gardens or park-like meadows of the younger School; bare boughs are replaced by full foliage, just as Bellini's austerely refined Saints are replaced by the no less noble, but more full-blooded and sensuous figures of the *Fête Champêtre* or *Sacred and Profane Love*. The simple Pastoral grows

"into something rich and strange"; if Titian and Giorgione are to paint the woodlands, "silvæ sint consule dignæ." Any slight remaining stiffness in the Bellinesque landscape is lost in the freedom and naturalism of their successors, who devote greater space and care to the middle distance, and treat the composition as a whole, and as transformed by the play of light and shade—this last in a manner never attained, or even attempted, in Italy before. With Giorgione, moreover, landscape came into her own. Now for the first time we have "a landscape with figures" in exchange for the earlier "figures in a landscape":—as Mr. Cook puts it, "the perfect blend of Nature and human nature was Giorgione's achievement" (*op. cit.* p. 116).

Like Bellini and the Umbrians, Giorgione and Titian loved the evening hour, but with them it is not "the holy time . . . quiet as a nun Breathless with adoration," but rather the consistent close of a day

> Sun-coloured to the imperishable core
> With sweet well-being of love and full heart's ease.

And Giorgione could paint as none had done before the momentous hush of high noon at midsummer, such as we feel in his *Fête Champêtre*.

The unapproachable charm of Venetian landscape of this period is thus due to its glorious colour, the golden glow in which it is steeped, its play of light and shadow, its broad treatment and well-balanced composition; it is also largely due to the fact that the painter selected and generalised the most beautiful and characteristic features in the scenery of the Venetian mainland, while

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PREACHING OF ST. STEPHEN

FROM A PICTURE BY CARPACCIO IN THE BRERA, MILAN. (*See p.* 235)

This picture shows Carpaccio's love for architecture and a romantic setting. The equestrian statue may be suggested by that of Colleoni

avoiding harshness or exaggeration. The Dolomites may rise in the distance, but the nearer landscape is not that of Cadore; it does not consist of stiff Alpine firs and pines, but rather of "the richer vegetation of the Friulan mountains in their lower slopes, or of the beautiful hills bordering upon the overflowing richness of the Venetian plain."[1] Not until later did Tintoretto introduce sensational effects of wild rock and whirling cloud and tempest-shattered forest trees.

In such a rich plain, covered with farmsteads and vineyards, some ten miles from Asolo and the lower slopes of the Venetian Alps, lies the sunny little town of Castelfranco, with its white, arcaded streets, its slender campanili in the Venetian style, and its dusky red Castello, set on tree-clad banks surrounded by a moat. More picturesque, if less warlike, than the fortress at Ferrara, it enshrines in the Duomo built within its walls the famous *Madonna Enthroned* of Castelfranco's greatest son. This Castello has been thought to have suggested the line of fortified, tree-girt walls in the *Tempestà;* the thatched or raftered farmsteads with their high-pitched roofs, the rich champaign where shepherds and their flocks repose under the shade of clumps of trees, that are seen in several of Giorgione's pictures, do no doubt recall familiar features of his home landscape. He loved fair, strange gardens too and clear, running water, and skies streaked with

[1] Claude Phillips, "Earlier Work of Titian" (p. 15). The point has been well brought out also by Pater, "The Renaissance" (p. 143), and by M. Michel, "Maîtres du Paysage" (p. 27).

orange, suggesting stormy sunset. He excels in the painting of foliage and tree-trunks. The romantic element in him was very likely stimulated by a study of Carpaccio.

One may see Giorgione's style in the making in his earliest pictures, such as those in the Uffizi, the † *Philosophers* at Vienna, and the † *Tempestà*[1] of the Giovanelli Palace, Venice. The *Philosophers* is also known as *Æneas, Evander, and Pallas*, while the *Tempestà* has as alternative titles *The Scholar and the Gipsy* and *Adrastus and Hypsipyle*. The much-debated question of their subjects does not concern us here, but Herr Wickhoff's *Adrastus* solution seems unnecessarily far-fetched. The *Trial of Moses* and *Judgment of Solomon* in the Uffizi have both massive, dark trees—some of them cypresses—and slender saplings, with water, and blue mountains. The pebbles and small foreground plants are Bellinesque. In the *Moses* one tree-trunk is especially fine, in outline, substance, and lighting; a still, blue pond has reflections in it. In the *Solomon* the mountain is Dolomitic, and the sky has a splendid mass of creamy cloud; a rocky knoll, with grass and trees, a shepherd and sheep, and a church and tower complete the scene.

In the *Philosophers* Bellini is recalled by the figures, the pebbly foreground, and the bare tree in the centre. The arrangement of the figures and land-

[1] Both these pictures are admirably reproduced in colour by the Medici Society.

scape is original, and beautifully rhythmical without undue formality. The sunset sky is bathed in clear light, and glows orange, with purplish clouds. Farm buildings with high-pitched roofs nestle among trees on the rounded hills; on one side is seen a grassy crag with slender, delicate trees outlined against the sky. Mr. Ricketts ("Titian," p. 21) has called this "the first great landscape in painting."

In the *Tempestà* we have an extraordinarily daring and successful rendering of a summer storm, which dominates the background, leaving the more immediate foreground untroubled. The grassy bank and some young trees in the middle distance have taken on the abnormal, metallic green hue that one sees when such a storm threatens; the blue-grey sky is big with it, jagged lightning leaps from a dense bank of cloud, tinged with sulphur; one feels the oppression, one holds one's breath to hear the thunder. The broken, grassy foreground and its stately trees are in brownish greens; a little bridge crosses a stream of dark, clear water, which makes a pool in which the "Gipsy" has bathed; by the bridge is a picturesque farm or mill, with a stork on its open, raftered roof. A domed church is seen in the distance, and two broken columns on a brick pedestal nearer on the left.

The Castelfranco *Madonna* is probably somewhat later, dating from about 1500. It is less typical of Giorgione and almost Umbrian in its wider, more open landscape of peaceful blue lake bordered by receding hills, its serene evening sky flooded with soft radiance,

and the feathery, golden-brown foliage of some taller trees delicately outlined against it. Other rounder trees make a grove in a meadow in the foreground, and some of Giorgione's favourite picturesque buildings are seen on rising ground to the left. The lake may perhaps be the Lago di Garda.

The *Orpheus and Eurydice* at Bergamo (Lochis Collection, No. 179) can, we think, no longer be denied to the master himself after Mr. Ricketts's testimony as to his personal examination of its technique (*cf.* "Titian," p. 22, *note*[1]). Very Giorgionesque are its colour and composition, somewhat resembling the damaged *Apollo and Daphne* of the Seminario, Venice. A great brown rock, standing out against the sky, divides the background into two, a wind-blown shrub springs from it, and other shrubs and rocks vary the brown-green fields of the foreground. The blue sky has a band of orange light in its lower part, contrasting with the lurid glow of the flaming Hades in one corner.

Nowhere is the landscape brought into closer harmony with the human subject than in the Dresden *Venus*, where its long, sweeping lines accentuate those of the figure of the goddess, relaxed in sleep, surely the loveliest Venus ever painted. A dark rock serves as a foil to her head, mountains and water are seen on the horizon, solitary trees in an undulating plain are silhouetted against the sky. A pile of gabled buildings crowns some rising ground on the right, above which rests a fine mass of cloud. This scene recalls the

Alinari

FÊTE CHAMPÊTRE

FROM THE PICTURE BY GIORGIONE IN THE LOUVRE, PARIS

This superb composition, with its green and russet colouring, its glowing sky, and light on park-like slopes, marks a high point in Italian landscape-painting

landscapes of Titian's *Sacred and Profane Love*, of his *Three Ages*, or of his National Gallery *Christ and the Magdalene*, which are all entirely Giorgionesque; the buildings in several are identical, and the landscape of the *Venus* was, in fact, finished by Titian. The colouring of the *Sacred and Profane Love* is again recalled in the glorious *Fête Champêtre*, painted probably during the last two years of Giorgione's life, certainly the most triumphant achievement in Italian landscape-painting of that date. Its mellow glow and rich tone, its sky and scenery, are magnificently typical, and exquisitely appropriate to the figures. Groups of fine oaks and other trees, their foliage a deep, bronzed green, cast shadow on grassy slopes bounded by blue hills; both grass and hills catch the hot sunlight in places. A farm and shepherds with their flocks add a rustic note to the romance of the main group. The deep blue sky shows streaks of primrose light through its clouds.

The number of Giorgione's authentic works varies, of course, considerably with different critics, but the pictures that we have discussed would, we think, be generally admitted, together with certain others that have not landscapes. Sir M. Conway possesses two small panels of the *Infancy of Paris*, for which drawings exist in the Verona Gallery. He attributes them to Giorgione himself. Their colour is warm, and they are carefully studied from Nature—blue-green ranges of hills, with towered walls, brownish trees, a river-side with houses, and a rose-red castle on a hill. The

familiar pebbles are found in one. The beautiful *Adoration of the Shepherds* from Dorchester House would by some be added to the list. The figures are grouped before a rocky cave on the right, with fine trees and a stretch of landscape under a warm sky. There is a slightly varied † replica at Vienna.

A lovely and mysterious panel in the National Gallery, though possibly not by the master's own hand, recalls the Uffizi pictures as they in turn recall Bellini's *Sacra Conversazione*. Their landscape too is charged with hidden meaning (*cf.* p. 222). A rampart of hill, tower-crowned, shuts in the pleasance—for it is no formal garden—from the far-stretching, silvery plain beyond. The sky is pearly, full of subdued light. On one side rises a crag with saplings springing from it, an untrimmed laurel-hedge extends behind the figures, trees with varied foliage are clustered in the grass. Small birds perch on the branches, and a peacock, a leopard, and two stags make their home in this sheltered space. Is it indeed, as has been suggested, the Garden of the Golden Age ; or, perchance, of the Hesperides ?—An inferior picture in the National Gallery represents, on a much larger scale, a *Garden of Love* in the Giorgionesque manner ; a little stream falls in a cascade in the foreground.

The Giorgionesque type of landscape was continued by his followers, of whom Cariani may be chosen as representative (*cf.* chap. xiii). But its greatest exponent was, of course, Titian, in such pictures as we have already mentioned, and in his frescoes of the

Scuola del Santo at Padua, painted not long after Giorgione's death. Accordingly we shall here treat of Titian in this phase, and in that into which it almost imperceptibly melted, reserving his latest development for consideration with Tintoretto, with whom Titian in his later years had so much in common. Only some of the best-known, typical examples of either period can be selected.

TIZIANO VECELLIO [1477–1576]

(*a*) EARLY PERIOD, TO 1520

EARLIER still than the pictures just mentioned are two at Vienna, probably dating from about 1506—the † *Gipsy Madonna* (*Zingarella*), which has been sometimes ascribed to Giorgione himself, and the charming † *Child with a Tambourine*. In the *Madonna*, through a square opening to the left, some gently sloping ground, with buildings and a tall dark tree, leads up to the distant hills; in the *Tambourine Player* tree-trunks and foliage are set behind the child, and a sloping meadow fills the right-hand distance, bounded by trees.

The frescoes in the Scuola del Santo, Padua, date from 1511, and are strongly reminiscent of Giorgione's earlier work, alike in their massive figures and landscape composition. Titian's assistant, Domenico Campagnola, and a certain Filippo da Verona were responsible for some of the series, very inferior when contrasted with the three scenes by Titian himself, splendid still in spite of decay and retouching. These

all have landscape backgrounds. In the *St. Antony giving Speech to a Babe* the thin stems and boughs of the wind-blown trees, standing on a small knoll, are silhouetted against a sky streaked with light quite in the manner of Giorgione's *Philosophers*. The leaves are also thin, and sketchy; the sky looks grey now, but has no doubt lost some of its original colour. A classical statue stands in a niche above the figures, to the left. Similar trees, on a grassy knoll, occur in the *Jealous Husband murdering his Wife*, where there is sunset light, barred with grey clouds, as also in the *St. Antony restoring a Youth's Foot*. The landscape here is most attractive—a village with a tower lying among a grove of trees at the foot of a peaked hill, a plain stretching away behind, and sheep in the nearer fields. A tall tree, like an elm, rises immediately behind the central group.

The intensely poetical *Three Ages of Man* at Bridgewater House recalls the *Fête Champêtre*, but will be at once felt to lack something of that picture's glow and richness; the light and shade are less vividly contrasted, and the colour is kept quiet and subdued, so that, as Mr. Ricketts observes, "it is singular in Venetian painting." The cloud-masses are tinged with palest rose in one part, but are left almost cold in the other; the oak-foliage behind the shepherd in the foreground is sombre against the sky; the grassy slopes, and their clusters of trees, are brown. A lopped trunk rises in the foreground, and the three Cupids lie, a delicious heap of babyhood, at its foot. A distant shepherd

and his flock are seen in the lower fields, a stag on those above, and a high-gabled building among the trees. The sweep of blue distance, with its suggestion of water, carries the eye onward and outward, only to return and rest on the intent profile of the girl who has suspended her music to gaze into her lover's face; it is but for a moment, then her pipes shall play on for ever those unheard melodies that are the sweetest.

Two pictures of very little later date, probably between 1512 and 1514, have all Giorgione's rich, deep colour, his massive dark brown foliage, and his glowing skies. The *Baptism* in the Conservatori Gallery, Rome, has a wonderful sky—blue, with grey clouds, and apricot light on the horizon, behind the familiar tower and high-gabled building. The woodpecker on the tree-trunk may be one of the infrequent reminiscences of Bellini occurring in Titian's work; another is to be found in the individual fig-leaves, sparse, and clearly defined against a vivid sky, in the *Madonna in Glory* of San Domenico, Ancona, and the *Resurrection* in SS. Nazaro e Celso, Brescia. A third is perhaps the minute view of a Venetian campanile and lagoon seen alike in this last picture and in the *St. Christopher* fresco in the Doges' Palace. To return to the *Baptism*: the gleams of light on its fields in the middle distance, and the tree-masses against the sky behind the figures, are very effective—a foretaste of the *Sacred and Profane Love*. (We adhere, for convenience' sake, to its time-honoured name.) This glorious idyll, superbly mellow in colour and

magnificent in composition, may surely be deemed perfect, if any picture can be. It baffles description. The peerless beauty of the figures is equalled by that of their setting. A mere enumeration of its details would give no more idea of its all-pervading fascination than a violin does of the music dormant within. The familiar elements of Giorgionesque scenery are combined in the most masterly and poetical manner under a glowing sunset sky; steeped in evening light, all is lovely, from the hills and curving bays of blue water in the distance to the butterflies hovering over the flowers in the foreground.

The *Christ and the Magdalene* of the National Gallery, dating from this period, is, as we have already seen, equally Giorgionesque. A cluster of farmsteads and houses, some of them thatched, crown a hillock to the right, the gable of one just catching the evening light; rich meadows, with trees and sheep, fill the rest of the picture—one tall tree, with brown seaweedy foliage, standing up immediately behind the figures, and against the fine varied sky.

In the *Venus Anadyomene* at Bridgewater House, painted about 1517, Titian's own type of female beauty makes itself felt, in an exquisite setting of vague and dreamy sea and sky. No land is visible; the greater portion of the background consists of quiet, blue sky, partly veiled in lilac cloud, and with a suggestion of rose on the horizon, where it meets the sea, slightly bluer, and gently rippled. Only the shell, left floating empty upon it, seems inadequate and

out-of-place. One feels that this must have been one of the Titians that inspired G. F. Watts.

Other pictures with landscape, dating from between 1516 and 1520, begin to show a transition from the Giorgionesque—for example, the † *Madonna with St. John Baptist* at Munich, the *Madonna with St. Antony Abbot* at the Uffizi (No. 633), and the † *Garden of Loves* and † *Bacchanal* at Madrid. The splendid trees in the two latter are their most noticeable landscape feature. The other two pictures show Titian's favourite landscape (seen so often through a window in his portraits, as in the *Duchess of Urbino* at the Uffizi), of wooded country, with blue hills and a tall, solitary tree, or spire, under a luminous sky. In this Munich picture it is one of his own native mountains that rises in the distance.

(*b*) MIDDLE PERIOD, TO 1548

It would be impossible to draw an arbitrary line after any picture of Titian's, and say "Here Giorgione's influence ends." It still persists in the landscape and in the lyrical *abandon* of the gorgeous *Bacchus and Ariadne*—the first picture of this maturer phase that we shall consider—and in the pastoral incidents of the *Vierge au Lapin* and National Gallery *Madonna with St. Catherine*. But from this period we shall find Titian developing on his own lines, his colour at times a little quieter, his skies less glowing, and more varied by magnificent masses of cloud, such as those that cast their shadow on the columns of the *Pesaro*

Madonna in the Church of the Frari, Venice. At the same time, his foliage becomes more realistic, less fernlike or seaweedy, and the tree-trunks are treated with increasing power and naturalism. Titian's intensely blue mountains are really true to the character of the Dolomites, when seen looking southward in strong sunlight; they are rather reminiscent of them in a general way than strictly accurate representations of particular peaks, like Antelao or the Marmarole. Attempts have, however, been made by Gilbert and others to identify the mountains in the pictures, as *e.g.* that in the *Presentation* of the Venice Academy. The lower slopes round Ceneda and Serravalle—Titian's country home and that of his married daughter Lavinia—gave him the scenery of many of his middle distances. It was not so much that he chose any specially romantic or grand scenery as that he treated ordinary scenery in the grand manner, yet with perfect truth and in kindly touch with Nature. Such landscape Ruskin has well designated "heroic," and Titian its chief master.

The *Bacchus and Ariadne*, finished in 1523, would probably compete with the Venice *Assumption* for the first place among Titian's maturer works; it would be generally admitted to be the greatest picture in the National Gallery. Like the *Sacred and Profane Love*, it defies description, unless perhaps in the verse of Keats or of Catullus, whose "florens uolitabat Iacchus" is so wonderfully reproduced in its central figure. Here Titian is a frank and joyous pagan, even more than

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SACRED AND PROFANE LOVE

FROM THE PICTURE BY TITIAN IN THE BORGHESE GALLERY, ROME. (*See p.* 249)

A supreme illustration of Titian's use of Giorgionesque landscape, with a rich and mellow glow. Sunset light falls on the buildings; observe the white rabbits in the wood, and the butterflies on the foreground shrub

Raffaelle in his *Galatea*. The colouring all through is superb; every touch of it and every gleam of light has its value, and could not be altered without loss. So intensely blue are the sky and sea—the one sapphire, the other turquoise—that they merit Ruskin's verdict of "magnificently impossible," but any fainter tone would have detracted from the general rich effect of the picture. In this ocean-like sky Ariadne's starry crown sparkles, and the rolling cloud-masses are transfused with warm light; steep blue mountains border the sea, and low, grassy promontories show gleams of sunlight among their groves of trees. In the nearer foreground, to the right, is a group of tall trees in full foliage, green and russet, while many lovely details add an ultimate touch of beauty to the whole. Such are the jessamine wreath of the baby faun, the ivy crown worn by another faun; the vine-leaves of Bacchus; the "spotted pards" and the spaniel; the blue iris and columbine in the grass, and the trailing plant with a flower like St. John's wort, only white (*Capparis spinosa*, according to Ruskin).

The *Vierge au Lapin* of the Louvre (No. 1578) is contemporary with the *Bacchus*, and still recalls Giorgione in its heavy sunset sky streaked with orange, in the distant tower and massive foliage standing out against it, and in its pastoral surroundings. But the grouping and type of the figures are not his, nor their colouring. Blue peaks rise in the left-hand distance; in the immediate foreground are set the dainty,

snow-white rabbit, and a wild strawberry-plant bearing fruit. Our National Gallery *Madonna with St. Catherine*, with which this has been so often compared, dates probably from some seven or eight years later, and shows a distinct advance in unity of composition. Never before it had there been such atmosphere, such fusion of air and earth, where the cloud-swathed sky blends with the hills, and its watery gleams fall in patches of light on mountain-side and field. A distant white building and some water also catch the light. The mountains and sky are again in strong blue, the fields and trees, some of which are oaks, being of the usual brownish green. This beautiful landscape is typically Venetian in character. The colour-scheme of the *Head of Christ* in the Pitti (No. 228), painted about the same time, resembles that of the *St. Catherine;* warm light breaks in the sky over distant hills, and woods.

Another picture in which Titian would seem to have altered the natural tone and lighting for the sake of the general effect is the *Death of Peter Martyr*, painted between 1528 and 1530, and lamentably lost by fire in the last century. The colour of the sky and of one mountain was deepened, another mountain made impossibly light, while the first traces of Titian's later exaggeration appeared in the trees, and in the lurid light in the sky, as well as in the somewhat theatrical figures. It has been suggested that this was the result of an attempt to work in the manner of Michelangelo. Much the same criticisms might probably have been

passed on another lost work of Titian's, the *Battle of Cadore*, painted for the Ducal Palace, and destroyed in a fire there in 1577. A copy on a small scale, possibly made by some Venetian artist from the original, but not, as has been suggested, a sketch for it by Titian himself, exists in the Uffizi (No. 609). This, and an engraving by Fontana, give one some idea of the forceful representation of the combat, and of its remarkable landscape features — the mountain defile and torrent, the heavy clouds rent by lightning, and the ominous crimson light from some burning houses. A quite unique interest attached to this representation of a Venetian victory won within a few miles of Titian's native place, and depicted by him within a few years after its occurrence (1508). Maximilian's attempt to force his way into Italy was thwarted on this field.

The *St. Jerome* of the Louvre (No. 1585), painted, like the *Presentation* of the Venice Academy, in the early thirties, has the most wonderful moonlight of any picture except Tintoretto's. The moon herself is invisible, hidden by the great tree-trunks, but her blurred light, seen behind the dense foliage and silvering the lower fields and a distant hill-side, makes the whole picture seem moonlit. The deep blue sky and dark forest foreground serve as a foil. (It should be added that Mr. Claude Phillips, while admitting the exquisite painting of the moonlight, does not feel convinced that the picture is by Titian's own hand, the figure of the Saint not being characteristic.)

We have already alluded to the beautiful twilight landscape of the portrait of the Duchess of Urbino in the Uffizi, and may accordingly now pass on to the great *Presentation of the B. Virgin in the Temple.* Its splendid architectural setting frames the distant landscape—the fine, twy-peaked Dolomite, the hilly, wooded middle distance, and the mass of white smoke rising into the sky from a house on fire. The pyramid to the left may have been suggested, as in other cases, by that of Cestius at Rome. The wall of one of the buildings is pink and patterned like the Doges' Palace.

To the early part of the next decade belongs the *Resurrection*, still in the Ducal Palace at Urbino, for which it was originally painted. It is a comparatively small picture, but very characteristic, with its depth and glow. The splendid sky is blue, with grey clouds and warm sunrise colouring; feathery trees stand out against it, from a rock on the left.

Opinions vary as to the date of the *Supper at Emmaus* in the Louvre (No. 1581), but not as to its supreme beauty and importance. Titian never excelled this rendering of his favourite "light at eventide"—the warm, primrose glow suffusing the blue cloud-masses, and kindling a picturesque building on the crest of a hill, which is itself in shadow. A solitary tree stands out, as so often, dark against the sky, and a splendid mountain range closes in the distance. (A *pentimento* is visible in the faint traces of a second column through the landscape.) The exquisite care bestowed upon

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CHRIST AND THE MAGDALENE

FROM THE PICTURE BY TITIAN IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY. (*See p.* 250)

A landscape of Giorgionesque type, but severer than the last. Rosy dawn-light touches the gable end of a building to the right

the borage and violets on the table, and other details, has been often remarked.

We must confess that the *St. John Baptist* of the Venice Academy (No. 314) leaves us comparatively cold. Admirable as are its details, it seems too much an exercise in composition, a study rather than an inspiration. Clouds, mountains, and trees are all fine and painted with the sure mastery to which Titian had now attained. The most attractive feature is the foaming brook, catching the light and falling in a little cascade.

With one exception, we have not spoken of Titian's portraits, many of which fall within this period. Two splendid † portraits of the Emperor Charles V., one at Munich, the other (on horseback) at Madrid, have fine settings of cloudy skies, with gleams of light on broad meadows and trees; both have suffered much from repainting. The same may be said of the *Count Antonio Porcia* in the Brera (No. 180), which, however, still conveys an impressive sense of mystery in its dark, spacious landscape and sky.

GIACOMO PALMA (IL VECCHIO) [1480–*circa* 1528]

Palma Vecchio falls distinctly into the second rank when compared with such great names as Bellini, Giorgione, and Titian, after whose winged feet he plodded somewhat heavily. Inspired by them, and sharing something of their honey-glow and mellow richness, his poor sense of form and lack of originality

have damaged him less than in another age or city they probably would have done. At one time his influence would seem to have reacted on Lotto, and even on Titian. His highest claim to recognition is perhaps as the father and painter of some blonde, soft-eyed daughters, but there is considerable charm in the landscapes that he spreads behind his groups of sacred personages, those *Sacre Conversazioni* with which he is so much identified. These landscapes usually consist of ranges of hills under a vividly tinted sky, with rich, wooded fields in the middle distance, where water, or farms and castles, are seen among the trees. Palma's mountains are of a greyer blue than Titian's, but equally true to another aspect of them, while the manner in which he casts light on them, not merely behind them, is admirable. Good examples of Palma's landscapes are to be found in the *Holy Family with a Shepherd* of the Louvre (No. 1399), where the trees are well defined against the sky; in the *Sacre Conversazioni* of the Venice Academy and Palazzo Colonna, Rome (No. 15), with its fine, cloudy sunset; and in the *Holy Family* of the Naples Museum. In an *Assumption* at Venice the hills make a lovely curve, dipping towards the centre, and trees are silhouetted against the sky on either side. Sometimes the mountains resemble Dolomites (*e.g.* Brera, No. 179). One of Palma's richest landscapes is that of the *Meeting of Jacob and Rachel* at Dresden, so long ascribed to Giorgione. A mountain peak rises beyond its park-like slopes, covered with fine trees among which houses

and castles are seen. The flocks anticipate Bassano. In the National Gallery the laurel foliage behind the *Poet* is beautifully rendered; the *Holy Family* does not do Palma justice.

* * *

Here we must turn aside to the dependent Schools of the Venetian mainland, whose leading painters flourished during the earlier and middle parts of Titian's long life, and were so deeply influenced by the Bellinesques and by himself.

CHAPTER XIII

BERGAMO. BRESCIA. VERONA. 1480–1560

THE three cities of Bergamo, Brescia, and Verona, with various small towns of the Venetian mainland, had their own Schools of painters who studied under Venetian masters; some few of these who interested themselves in landscape may now be chosen for mention. Among them Lorenzo Lotto easily holds the first place, and must be considered at more length than the others.

LORENZO LOTTO [1480–1556]

ALTHOUGH so closely identified with Bergamo, Lotto was a Venetian by birth, and his work is Venetian in character. Mr. Berenson, with whom Lotto has been a special object of study, has exhaustively proved his artistic descent from Alvise Vivarini (*fl.* 1461–1503). This descent betrays itself (apart from the types of figures) in Lotto's cool colouring, which misses something of the mellow glow of the Bellini School. In landscape, we find Alvise's favourite hills against a light sky, with water or a wooded plain below—such as are seen through an opening in both his National Gallery pictures—occurring in several of Lotto's,

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HOLY FAMILY WITH SAINTS

FROM THE PICTURE BY PALMA VECCHIO IN THE ACCADEMIA, VENICE. (*See p.* 258)

A good example of Palma's backgrounds, derived from Giorgione through Titian, and handed on to Bonifazio

as, for example, in his Dresden *Madonna*. Lotto's intense feeling for landscape is sometimes expressed in a manner that is startlingly modern, as in his series of sketches in the Lochis Collection, Bergamo, and in our National Gallery *Protonotary*. He understood how to harmonise it with his subject, whether portrait or sacred picture; some of his skies are among the finest in Italian painting, and he enhances his effects of distance by spacious architecture, as in the Berlin *Christ taking leave of His Mother*. Mr. Berenson points out his "sense, almost Japanese, for effects to be obtained from a few sprays of leaves and flowers . . . for scattered rose-petals, or trees blown by the wind on a cliff" ("L. Lotto," p. 264).

Just as the difference between Gian Bellini and Giorgione in landscape has been illustrated by the analogy of their figure-types, so may that between Lotto and the School of Giorgione, Palma, and Titian be. In striking contrast to the robust, voluptuous figures of these last are the sensitive, introspective, occasionally morbid or ecstatic faces of Lotto's sitters and Saints. Similarly, in landscape, Lotto's own intellectuality and austerity express themselves in an almost Florentine coolness of tone, in frequent elimination of incident, and in reliance on sweeping effects.

The two earliest known pictures by Lotto, Sir M. Conway's *Danae* and the Louvre *St. Jerome* (No. 1350), both show this poetical feeling for landscape, and the important place assigned to it, although the careful

building-up of their details is very different from the impressionist treatment of the *Protonotary*. The landscape in Sir M. Conway's picture is an open space in a wood, with trickling water, tall trees in full foliage on either side, and hills in the distance. The foliage is minutely painted, and of a warm brown colour; the sky is intensely blue in its upper part, and yellowish below, the whole effect being rich and warm. One is rather at a loss to understand Mr. Berenson's description of its "greyish tone and cool lights," while admitting these as characteristics of Lotto's work in general. The subject, one may remark incidentally, bears no resemblance to *Danae*, the figure being seated, in the open air, and the shower certainly not of gold. Sir M. Conway has suggested that it represents "A young girl's dream of love," the shower being of flowers, and the lurking satyr put in by way of grim contrast. (The other figure is a river-god.)

The *St. Jerome* has wonderful effects of light through the branches of the oak-trees, whose foliage is admirably rendered. These oaks, and some shorter, bare trees, crown piles of rock, which do at last really resemble rock, although they are hardly interesting enough in themselves to compose the whole picture; it would have served better as a portion merely of a larger picture. Some of the rocks catch the light from a break in the reddish grey clouds. Similar features—overhanging rocks with oak-boughs, and a gleam of light under iron-grey clouds—are seen in the *Pietà* of the Academy, Venice.

Another early picture by Lotto, with an original and effective landscape background, is the *Madonna with Saints* at Bridgewater House. A green curtain stretches behind the figures, and above this is seen the slope of a grassy hill, evidently the edge of a wood, with woodmen at work. Only some underwood and the lower parts of the tree-trunks are seen, and no sky in the right-hand part of the picture, owing to the slope of the hill; in the left-hand part, immediately above the curtain, a bank of warm, white cloud floats in the dull blue sky. One wonders if this sloping hill-side gave Moroni the idea for his beautiful *Madonna in Glory* of the Duomo, Bergamo, in which the simple lines of hill-top and trees against the quiet sky convey such a sense of height and openness, of being actually on the verge, with nothing between one and the sky. One feels that more sky in Lotto's picture would have helped towards this effect.

Lotto is known to have been painting in Rome in 1509, so that he cannot have failed to come under Raffaelle's influence, as his † *Entombment* at Jesi, painted soon after, clearly shows. The landscape here, and the feathery trees, are of the regular Umbrian type, while its great sky-space is also characteristic of that School. The *Assumption* in the Brera (No. 186), with its delicate trees and colouring, is of the same type and period. More striking still is the likeness to Palma in the † *Death of Peter Martyr* at Alzano, painted a few years later. Palma is also recalled in the *Sacra Conversazione* of the Borghese Gallery, Rome

(No. 157), his favourite form of composition; the colouring here is hardly successful, its bright blue mountains give a crude effect against the turquoise sky, with golden pink light on the horizon. There is a lemon-tree behind the Madonna, and others farther behind, all with dark foliage. Lotto's other Borghese picture, a *Man's Portrait* (No. 185), dates from some fifteen years later; through a window a fine cloudy sky is seen, with light on the horizon, and a distant range of greenish hills, with a rocky foreground and a town. The man lays his hand on a tiny skull, half buried in rose-leaves and a spray of white jessamine.

The resemblance between Lotto and Correggio, which has been often remarked, is very superficial, resulting from the desire of both to express rapt emotion or childlike gaiety. Such a resemblance has been traced in the Vienna *Madonna and Child with Saints*, which, judging from a photograph only, must be very lovely. The figures are grouped under a spreading central tree, and a hilly, wooded landscape, with gleams of light, stretches behind them. An angel crowns the Madonna with a jessamine wreath, and little flowers in the grass stand out against her robe.

The *Protonotary* and *Family Group* of the National Gallery were probably painted rather after middle life, when Lotto's powers were fully developed. No landscape in the whole Gallery is more satisfying than that of the *Protonotary*, it strikes one afresh each time one sees it. And yet it is so absolutely simple, just a

broadly treated sweep of blue and green hills, with snow mountains on the horizon, under a deep blue sky, the lower part of which is covered with a white cloud. The whole is framed by the square window, as the landscape is also in the *Family Group*, where tree-tops are seen just above the window-sill. A lake or arm of the sea, with hills sloping to the water, lies under a beautiful sky, greenish blue like itself, with a mass of light clouds. The carefully painted dish of cherries reminds one of the cherry-bough and orange set as decoration right in the front of the Berlin picture. In another of Lotto's pictures at Berlin, *A Young Man's Portrait*, a distant view of the lagoon and Venice is seen in the right corner.

Lotto's characteristic treatment of Nature can be studied in the fine *intarsia* choir-stalls of Sta. Maria Maggiore at Bergamo, for most of which he furnished the designs. The trees especially are true to life—poplars, cypresses, and others—and so are some animals, such as the lion and the bear in full flight in the *Goliath* background. A beautiful effect of light is given in the moonlit *Judith*, recalling that of the *Lady's Portrait* in the Carrara Collection (No. 379). Here a mellow crescent moon in a dark sky casts soft radiance on clouds and horizon, and on the dim water lying under dense trees ; one rather wonders why the shrewd, kindly features of the sitter were given such romantic surroundings. Altdorfer's moonlight picture at Siena is recalled, but this is softer.

The Gallery at Bergamo is indeed rich in Lotto's

works ; the small sketches in the Lochis Collection are remarkable, as we have said, for the modern treatment of their landscape, and their cloudy skies with light falling on water and dark trees. The Carrara Collection has also three small pictures (Nos. 371 to 373) with pretty, but more ordinary, landscape backgrounds of brownish trees and grassy slopes under a light blue sky ; their sense of space and distance is good, and in No. 372, an *Entombment*, the shadow of a rocky bank is admirably contrasted with the light on some grass where sheep are feeding. Classical buildings are introduced in the other two. For delicate detail it would be difficult to surpass the *Holy Family with St. Catherine* (Lochis Collection), where a jessamine arbour, of exquisite leaf and blossom, frames a distant misty valley, with a broad river flowing between low, wooded shores to the horizon. There is a fig-tree above the Madonna. The *Marriage of St. Catherine* (Carrara Collection) had once a fine landscape, which has been cut out and replaced by a blank.

Of Lotto's various pictures in churches at Bergamo the finest, with a landscape, is undoubtedly that over the high altar of San Bernardino in Pignolo. Its beautiful, spacious sky, of light blue with exquisite, warmly tinted clouds, has been well described by Mr. Berenson as " one of the finest in any Italian picture " ; on the horizon are trees and hills in dark colouring, with fields nearer ; the right side of the landscape is partly blocked out. Roses lie on the steps of the throne.

The Santo Spirito altarpiece, painted, like the above, about 1521, is somewhat spoilt by the stagy pink and yellow lights in the clouds, beneath the choir of angels ; it has insignificant trees and hills. On the other hand, the landscape of the *Trinità* in the sacristy of Sant' Alessandro in Croce is the best part of the picture—a charming countryside scene of grey-blue hills and a wooded valley, with a glimpse of water, under a pale sky, the distance being especially successful.

The frescoes in San Michele, though unfortunately damaged, show Lotto's broad treatment of landscape in that medium. The *Flight into Egypt*, for example, has a spacious setting of grassy glades, with palms and other trees, and a towered building in the centre ; there are hills and water, and a rosy light in the sky.

One of Lotto's most magnificent altarpieces, that of the Carmine, in Venice, dates from 1529, and, though much darkened now, reveals a landscape that must have been one of his most poetical and effective. On the horizon lies the sea, with a break of light in the clouds over it, and, in the nearer foreground, on some rising ground, a full-foliaged and a bare tree stand out against the sky ; in the centre, paths lead through a wooded valley to a town on the shore. Of this landscape Mr. Berenson says ("L. Lotto," p. 186): "(It) must have been one of the most captivating in Italian painting, and even now, although it is coated with candle-grease, the sweep of its outlines, the harmony of its colours, and the suggestiveness of its lights make an unwonted appeal to the imagination."

ANDREA PREVITALI [*fl.* 1502–1525]

Lotto's influence on Previtali is very marked, quite as much so as that of his first master, Bellini. Sharing the true feeling of them both for landscape, and inheriting Venetian richness of colour, Previtali may be called the Solario of Bergamo; his work in that city is only second to Lotto's own. His backgrounds are full of interest and variety; his mountains, trees, and skies appear to be really studied from Nature, and sometimes recall the Flemings. Sometimes his colour-contrasts are rather crude, as in his favourite yellow sky over intensely blue hills. A striking instance of mountain study is seen in the peak resembling the Matterhorn in his *Nativity* of the Academy, Venice; the high light upon it suggests snow or whitish rock. The nearer fields and trees are in dark green, light streams from under the stable rafters. In the *Crucifixion* of the same Gallery a clump of dark trees, their leaves larger than their true size, crowns a low knoll in the centre; fields, with towers and houses, stretch behind, and masses of dark grey clouds cover part of the sky. A similar clump of trees, their leaves embrowned at one edge, fills the centre of the very beautiful picture at the Brera (No. 168), where the Saviour stands in front of them, His white robe relieved against their foliage; the grass is sprinkled with daisies; a white cloud floats in the sky; distant mountains and a green plain with water complete the scene. In the chapel of the Doges' Palace, Previtali

Alinari

Plate 43

HOLY FAMILY

FROM THE PICTURE BY LOTTO IN THE CARRARA GALLERY, BERGAMO

Lotto's broad treatment of landscape and sky is here seen, and his feeling for decorative effects of foliage and flowers

has set a Dolomitic peak behind his *Christ in Hades*, and in his *Destruction of Pharaoh in the Red Sea* has made a good attempt at lightning and sombre red glow in the sky. Neither of the two Previtalis in the National Gallery quite adequately represents him; in the *Monk adoring the Infant Christ* the fields are of a too vivid green; blue mountains and water are seen through an arch. The *Madonna and Child* of the Salting Bequest has his favourite grove of trees on a grassy slope, with a glimpse of blue hills and water, and a cloudy sky. Its most charming feature is the olive sapling of the foreground, one of whose leafy shoots the B. Virgin bends in her hand; the upper and under sides of the pointed leaves are well rendered.

We have left the Bergamo pictures to the end; they alone would suffice to establish Previtali's reputation. In the Church of Santo Spirito there is a fine altar-piece in the first chapel to the left. It is dated 1515, and represents *St. John Baptist with other Saints*. The middle distance is occupied by blue mountains and nearer hills in brownish green; a stream flows among trees, forming a small cascade; a town lies at the foot of the hill behind it, and buildings on either side of the figures are covered with creepers and shrubs. The sky is pale blue, with white clouds. In another side-chapel a *Madonna with Two Saints* has steep, blue mountains, with orange light in the sky above them, and a stream flowing between wooded banks; some broken, classical arches are seen on one side. The colours are too violent.

In a *Crucifixion* in the sacristy of Sant' Alessandro in Croce there are dark, wind-blown trees, and a pale gleam of light over the hills.

A *Madonna and Saints* of the Carrara Gallery (No. 183) has the usual blue mountains under a saffron sky, a river between wooded banks, and some classical arches. A pretty fancy is shown in the large polyptych (No. 97), where a child-angel feeds with acorns St. Antony's pig, curly-tailed and black and white; an oak-leaf and acorn lie on the ground. Another *Madonna* (Lochis Collection, No. 171) is set against a beautiful mass of green foliage; one tree is bare; sky, hills, and water are all turquoise, the whole effect being charming, but rather conventional.

CARIANI (GIOVANNI BUSI) [*circa* 1480–1544]

Bergamo was also the native city of Cariani, one of the various imitators of Giorgione whose copies of their master's work have sometimes passed as originals. Cariani's colour can be, as in his Brera picture, crude, and his touch is heavy. When he is making an actual copy from Giorgione these defects are naturally less apparent. The *Holy Family with St. Sebastian* of the Louvre (No. 1135) may probably be ascribed to Cariani. It has the saffron light in a deep blue sky that Giorgione loved; blue-green hills are silhouetted against it; there is some fine oak-foliage. Cariani's usual landscapes suggest Palma in their warm skies, blue mountains, and brownish green fields and trees; his decorative rose-bushes and lemon or bay trees,

such as we see in his *Madonnas* of the Corsini Gallery, Rome, and National Gallery, recall Girolamo dai Libri. But he strikes an original note in his sea-coasts. At Bergamo, for instance, a *Man's Portrait* (Morelli Collection, No. 99) has a rocky shore and sea, with Cariani's favourite yellow light on the horizon of a dark, cloudy sky. The background of his *Holy Family* at Hampton Court is especially noticeable in this respect. Pale blue sea, with a line of white foam at the foot of its cliffs, curves in a series of little bays round them and round a rocky promontory or island in the centre of the picture, on which a small town with towered walls is built. The entrance to a loch is suggested. Water gleams again in the distance among some farther hills, and the sky has a rosy flush.

The elaborate landscape of the *Sacra Conversazione* in the Corsini Gallery, Rome, is enriched by such details as the familiar rose-hedge and lemon-tree, the shepherd and flock, two white rabbits and doves, and a finch perched on the Madonna's work-basket. Its blue sky has masses of warm, cream-coloured cloud. In the background are hills with towers, and above them distant mountains catching the light, with very pleasant effect. Mountains and warm clouds are features of the *Man's Portrait* and *Female Saint* in the Lochis Collection, Bergamo, and of the National Gallery *Madonna and Child ;* in the last a quiet river flows between low, chalky banks and under rich woods.

BARTOLOMMEO VENETO [*fl.* 1505–1555]

ANOTHER lesser painter who should be linked with Lotto and Previtali is Bartolommeo Veneto. Like Previtali, he may be compared to Solario for the mingling of Venetian and Lombard influences that are seen in his work, the Venetian in this case predominating. One of his most successful efforts, the *Madonna* of the Ambrosiana, Milan, has passed under Lotto's name. It shows his favourite type of landscape—a sheet of water enclosed by wooded hills, with more or less elaborate architecture and other details. In this instance it is lovely in colour, the sky of a greenish blue, the hill-sides and trees in brown-green ; the latter are reflected in the water, which is crossed by two small bridges, and has a mill. Sheep graze on the hills, whose summits are crowned by towers ; a beautiful building has an arched loggia and typically Venetian windows, while the chimneys of other houses are also Venetian in shape. Bartolommeo's earliest known work, a *Madonna* in the Lochis Collection, Bergamo (No. 127, painted in 1505), together with another in Signor Crespi's Collection, Milan, and a *Man's Portrait* in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, all show many of the same details. The lake or pond figures in all, with a mill or bridge; sometimes swans float on the water ; in the Bergamo picture a woman is washing clothes, while a man drives a donkey over a bridge. A shepherd with his flock, a stag, and two white rabbits are seen in the nearer fields. A stag-hunt

Plate 44

Anderson

CHRIST : DONOR OF PICTURE ADORING

FROM THE PICTURE BY MORETTO IN THE CARRARA GALLERY, BERGAMO

One of Moretto's splendid representations of sky and trees in mingled light and shadow; obviously inspired by Titian

takes place in the background of Signor Crespi's picture, and its architecture is very elaborate; in all three a warm flush appears in the sky on the horizon.

* * *

MORETTO (ALESSANDRO BONVICINO) [*circa* 1478–1554]

At Brescia, where Foppa's influence persisted, we find Moretto and his pupil Moroni, the latter best known as a portraitist. Lotto's influence on both is clearly perceptible. Moretto may be exhaustively studied in his native city; his large groups of sacred figures in its Gallery and many of its churches are somewhat theatrical, as are some of his skies with their cloud and light effects. These pictures have caught something of the Venetian great manner and rich colouring, mingled with the deliberately cool tones and silvery effects of Lotto; at times they remind one of Andrea del Sarto. Fine architectural settings are introduced, and festoons of flowers and foliage.

One of the most striking landscapes is that of the *Elijah and the Angel* in San Giovanni Evangelista. A lofty tree shelters the prophet, a castle and some rocks dot the middle distance, and a mountain range rises on the horizon. Nor is this the only instance in which Moretto introduces just a couple of figures into a landscape quite as significant as themselves. At Bergamo (Lochis Collection, No. 177) there is an impressive picture of *Christ with the Cross appearing to a Kneeling Donor*, in which the light and shade is

marvellously rendered. A mass of dark trees fills the centre, with undulating fields all round; a square, farm-like building is seen in one corner; the sky is dark and clouded, with a pale gleam of light. In the Morelli Collection a small *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* has fine effects of distance and colour. A tree stands out against the sky, saffron-hued over the distant hills.

In the village church of Paitone, near Brescia, a †picture, of which there is a replica at Dresden, of the Blessed Virgin appearing to a shepherd-boy has a simple, but extraordinarily effective setting of a bare hill-side and wind-blown tree. A *Deposition* in Sir F. Cook's Collection (No. 76) has a cold and bright windy sky, and grassy slopes with trees below. Similar features are seen in a *Holy Family* at Bergamo (Lochis Collection, No. 55). The *Death of Peter Martyr* in the Ambrosiana, Milan (No. 26), is stagy, and lacks atmosphere, and a *Madonna in Clouds* of the Brera (No. 91) has a rather woolly hill-slope and trees.

GIANBATTISTA MORONI [1523–1578]

Moroni deserves a passing reference for the sake of his lovely hill-top picture in the Duomo, Bergamo, to which we have already alluded. He attempts much the same effect in a *Madonna in Clouds* in the Lochis Collection (No. 35), but it is somewhat marred by the introduction of a conventional landscape. His *Crucifixion* in the sacristy of Sant' Alessandro in Croce,

Bergamo, conveys a sense of mystery by its iron-grey hills and twilight sky.

* * *

LIBERALE DA VERONA [1451–1536]

At Verona there were two founders of the Quattrocento School, both influenced by Mantegna and the Paduans—Liberale, and Domenico Morone. Liberale, like Morone's pupil Girolamo, surnamed "dai Libri," was primarily an illuminator. The National Gallery possesses one of his most interesting landscapes in the *Death of Dido*. Distant hills edge a flat, green plain with water, crags, and trees ; in the centre panel some Renaissance buildings are seen. Liberale's *St. Sebastian* in the Brera has a view of Venetian canals behind. His *Magi* in the Duomo, Verona, has a landscape of confused colour and detail.

DOMENICO MORONE [1442–1503 (*after*)]

Domenico Morone's most interesting extant picture is the Mantua battle-scene in Signor Crespi's Collection, Milan, showing the Palazzo and old façade of the Duomo at Mantua, with other towers, and the lagoon. The mountains are, however, made to appear too near. The colouring is soft and the sky light ; the same may be said of the vast fresco of Franciscan Saints in the Refectory of San Bernardino, Verona, almost Umbrian in its space and serenity. A pupil of Domenico's, known as Michele da Verona, introduces a view of Verona, freely adapted, into his *Crucifixion*

in the Brera (No. 160). We see the Adige, spanned by its bridge, and a castle, with the mountains in the background.

FRANCESCO MORONE [1473–1529]

His own son Francesco was also a pupil of Domenico Morone's, and shows some gift for rendering soft, luminous skies. We see one of these in a *Madonna and Child* at Bergamo (Morelli Collection, No. 52), where the scene suggests an Alpine valley, with a glimpse of water. Unusually daring realism is shown in the fir-trees and jagged rocks obviously studied from Nature, and in the exquisite, rosy cloudlets floating over the mountain-peaks ; a solitary star shines in the glowing sky. A *Madonna* in the National Gallery has a careful study of mountain and meadow scenery, with battlemented walls and a church, but it is all rather stiff and airless.

GIROLAMO DAI LIBRI [1474–1556]

Girolamo dai Libri shows in his pictures all the decorative detail and bright colouring of the miniaturist ; his fruit-trees and flowers, and landscape incidents are rich and varied. A general defect of Girolamo and others of the School of Verona is their pervading, monotonous use of yellow-green. Girolamo constantly introduces a lemon-tree behind his Madonnas, as in the Louvre (No. 1518) ; the specially fine picture in Sta. Maria in Organo, Verona, is called "del limone" *par excellence*. His landscapes are of

W. A. Mansell & Co.

MADONNA WITH ST. CATHERINE

DETAIL FROM THE PICTURE BY TITIAN IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY. (*See p.* 281)

In this beautiful, characteristically Venetian landscape a new aspect of Nature is presented by the intermingling of hills and clouds, and their watery gleams of light

mountains, and rich wooded plains, with farms or castles among the trees; a typical example is that in San Giovanni in Braida, Verona. Here a shepherd is seen with his flock under a tree. In the rather uninspiring Gallery at Verona a *Holy Family* and a *Madonna with Tobit and the Archangel* have stately, well-coloured landscapes; the former is called "dei conigli" from the rabbits in it, the latter shows Tobit's usual fluffy dog.

Both Girolamo dai Libri and Francesco Morone introduce the favourite architectural setting of the period, a splendid throne, columns, canopy, and so forth. The National Gallery possesses a characteristic *Madonna* by Girolamo, with its lemon-tree and red roses over a low trellis; the Child holds a berried sprig of olive. The picture in the Academy, Venice (Room 7), has dark, fantastic rocks, with a town and castle, and impossible curly-edged clouds.

BONIFAZIO PITATI (VERONESE) [*fl.* 1510–1540]

Far more nearly allied to Venice was Palma Vecchio's pupil, Bonifazio Pitati, who, fluent and superficial though he is, was attracted by the joyous side of Nature as of life in general, and produced many pleasant landscapes on his master's lines. His foliage is heavy, his sky and mountains of contrasted vivid hue. He is fond of park-like glades, and his mountains are exceptionally well shaped; one particular peak occurs in several of his pictures in the Venice Academy,

in most of which mountains are seen (*e.g.* Sala X., Nos. 281, 284, 295, 319). The *Dives and Lazarus* has a garden setting. Other characteristic backgrounds are those of the *Cena* in the Uffizi (No. 628); the *Finding of Moses* in the Pitti (No. 161); the same subject in the Brera (No. 144); and the *Holy Family with Tobit* in the Ambrosiana (No. 43). This last is very fine, with a beautiful, rosy light in the sky and on the water and nearer fields. A castle nestles among trees; other trees, one a fig, are set behind the central group, and lilies of the valley and other plants in the foreground. There are several fine Bonifazio landscapes at Hampton Court, notably the *Actæon*, which, however, lacks his usual glow.

The name Bonifazio used to be a terror to the traveller, as there were supposed to be three painters who bore it, or one painter with three manners, needing careful differentiation. Now, to our relief, we are allowed to speak simply of "Bonifazio and assistants."

* * *

At Vicenza, Bartolommeo Montagna (1450–1523), himself a Brescian by birth, and others mingled the rugged traditions of Padua with the suaver ones of Venice. Montagna's backgrounds are usually of mountain ranges, with trees and buildings; a small *Madonna* in the Grafton Galleries Loan Collection of 1911 was a good example, another is in the National Gallery.

CHAPTER XIV

THE LATER VENETIANS: 1490–1590. (SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO, PARIS BORDONE, TITIAN: LATER PERIOD, TINTORETTO, BASSANO, VERONESE)

SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO [1485–*circa* 1547]

"THE one Venetian who became an Eclectic" is Mr. Berenson's verdict on Sebastiano del Piombo. His official position at Rome brought him into contact with Raffaelle and Michelangelo, and he fell under their sway, though still retaining the distinctive Venetian colour. Sebastiano is almost entirely a painter of portraits and figure-subjects, but glimpses of landscape are sometimes introduced into these, as in the *Enthroned Madonna* of San Giovanni Crisostomo, or the *Daughter of Herodias* in the National Gallery. In his splendid *Raising of Lazarus* the scene is much enhanced by the masses of white cloud in the deep blue sky, catching the light; the town on the river-bank catches it also, the sun itself being unseen. A bridge spans the clear, greenish water, and a massive tree-trunk in the foreground has tawny vine-leaves hanging from it. In the *Adonis* of the Uffizi the Doges' Palace, Clock-tower, and Campanile of Venice are seen, also some fine fig-trees.

PARIS BORDONE [1495-1570]

Paris Bordone brought to his landscapes the rich colouring that he lavished on the gorgeous raiment of the buxom ladies with whose portraits one chiefly associates him. Some of these landscapes are strikingly modern, with their sense of space in stretches of wooded country, their cloud-masses and broadly treated foliage, and their sweeping lights and shadows. Nowhere is this modern feeling more marked than in the *Annunciation* of the Siena Gallery, placed as it is among works so widely different. Its details are such as we have just indicated, seen between the arches of a stately Renaissance *loggia*. Blue mountains close it in, and the sky is a deep blue, with a burst of amber light behind the Angel. In the Lochis Collection at Bergamo there are two fine Vintage scenes (Nos. 41 and 42), where the landscape plays quite the chief part. The colouring is dark and rich, the treatment massive. Ranges of blue hills are seen in the distance, with a warm light above them in No. 41. Here trees are massed in the uneven, grassy foreground, and a lovely touch of colour is introduced by the purple grapes piled in a basket, from which children pluck and eat them. Grapes are being piled in a vat in the companion scene, where vines are trained over the trees, whose dark foliage effectively fills the top of the picture against a light sky. Characteristic backgrounds are seen in the *Baptism* of the Brera (No. 107), with its rich, sombre blues and brown-greens of hills

and woodland, its clouds, and its spaciousness; in the *St. George* of the Vatican Gallery, where the cloud-masses are flushed with rose, and the sky is very fine altogether; and in the *Holy Family* at Bridgewater House, where light falls on fields and trees, though the sky is grey and overcast. In a *Madonna and Saints* of the Brera (No. 104) the hills are exaggerated and unnatural.

TITIAN

(*c*) LATER PERIOD, 1548–1576

TITIAN'S later work is distinguished by a breadth of treatment and elimination of detail towards which we have already seen an approach in such a picture as our *Marriage of St. Catherine*. This was a natural development in one whose supreme object was now, as it was also with Tintoretto and Bassano, to make light and its effects the most important feature in the picture.

In the noble landscape of the *St. Margaret* at Madrid we have the first-fruits of Titian's final period. Even in a photograph some idea of its poetry and power is conveyed, but the colour of the original must render it unsurpassed. Mr. Ricketts speaks of its "stupendous sky of broken colour," and of the reflections, in troubled sky and still water, of a fire that ravages a town on the shore. A huge boulder rises on the right, immediately behind the Saint's figure.

The two great companion pictures at Bridgewater House, *Diana and Actæon* and *Diana and Callisto*, are known to have been painted in 1559, and are typical

of Titian's later manner. (There is a somewhat modified replica of the latter at Vienna.) A certain theatricality must be admitted to extend from their figures to their dense, flaky foliage and deep blue skies streaked with white or rose. In the *Actæon* blue mountains are seen on the horizon, and the sky is framed in the open arches of a stone cupola. A grassy knoll, crowned with trees, is an attractive feature in the left middle distance of the *Callisto*.

Another famous classical picture dates, in its final stage, from about a year later—the *Antiope* of the Louvre (No. 1587). It has been much retouched. Its landscape is spacious and carefully elaborated, but has perhaps not quite the charm of some others. A grove of dark brown trees, with grassy glades between them, fills the left portion; other trees are clustered above the undulating plain to the right, in the centre of which a pool catches the light. Grey-blue peaks, one beyond another, bound the plain on the horizon, warm, sunset light lingering over them. The early, Giorgionesque *motif* is repeated in the shepherds and flock. A † *Madonna and Child* of the same date at Munich has a fine, smouldering sunset sky, with some very tall trees set against it, and a dusky landscape below.

The *St. Jerome* of the Brera has certainly one of Titian's most daring, original, and successful landscapes. A steep hill-side rises abruptly behind the Saint, right across the picture, the trunks and foliage of the great chestnuts that spring from it, and the

Mansell

THE VISION OF ST. EUSTACE

FROM A DRAWING BY TITIAN IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

This spacious and airy composition, in which the landscape takes the chief place, marks the progress made in Italian Nature-painting since Pisanello's treatment of the same theme

formation of the rock-piles in the foreground, being all specially fine.

The great †storm-landscape at Buckingham Palace, though characteristic of Titian's scenery, is of disputed authenticity, and the same may be said of others, such as the *Madonna with Tobit* at Hampton Court, and a *Holy Family* of the Louvre (No. 1580), with lovely grassy glades and sunset sky, and a hollyhock in the immediate foreground.

Many drawings in the same way should probably be ascribed to Campagnola or other followers of Titian, though passing under the master's own name. Landscape is frequently introduced in these Titianesque sketches, of which a great number survive, in the Uffizi and other collections. At Chatsworth, for instance, there is a Giorgionesque landscape with shepherds and a nymph, and another with a riderless horse crossing a stream. At the British Museum the *St. Eustace* (*see* illustration facing p. 282), which is generally admitted to be Titian's own, shows the stag standing on a knoll crowned by trees, one of which is bare. On the other side, across the fields, rise some higher slopes, with trees and fortifications. Among others in the Museum one may mention the *St. Jerome*, and a sketch of a goatherd, with Dolomites in the distance, and trees with large, sketchy foliage; also a drawing of a towered fortress surmounting a sheer hill—a cloud-mass hangs above it, and far away below, across a distant valley, rises a serrated mountain ridge. The sense of space and height is most convincingly given.

Anderson

ST. MARY OF EGYPT

FROM THE FRESCO BY TINTORETTO IN THE SCUOLA DI SAN ROCCO, VENICE. (*See p.* 291)

A magical effect of moonlight in surrounding blackness, the rippling stream especially beautiful

JACOPO ROBUSTI (IL TINTORETTO) [1518–1592]

The Titanic genius of Tintoretto attracts some and repels others, it can leave none indifferent. To some he must always appear worthy of equal homage with Titian. If Titian be the sane and mellow Sophocles, nobly dignified and balanced, Tintoretto, with his wild energy of dreams, his passionate invention, his profound glooms streaked with supernal light, is the thunderous Æschylus. His well-known watchword, "The design of Michelangelo with the colour of Titian," prepares us for the fusion of two mighty forces in his work. Tintoretto cannot be rightly comprehended without a knowledge of his paintings in Venice itself, those huge canvases overflowing, as it seems, with his tireless, impetuous genius. He has suffered more than almost any painter from Ruskin's exaggerated eulogy and the excessive symbolism read by that critic into his work. Yet it is owing to Ruskin that his work was rescued from long neglect.

Tintoretto found landscape the supplemental mould into which he could pour his molten thoughts, using it no less potently and easily than his figures, with whom he brought it into as subtle relationship as Titian had done. Tintoretto was perhaps the first to carry the storm and stress of his landscape right into the foreground; others, like Giorgione, had left that calm, however troubled the sky or distance might be. Especially he loved violent contrasts of light and

shadow, as opposed to Titian's steady, subdued glow ; just as the action of his figures is more dramatic than Titian's, so are his skies more tempestuous, his forests more mysterious, his foliage denser or more wind-blown. In contrast, how tender is his silver moonlight, of unearthly radiance, how still and solemn his crimson sunsets over the lagoons, how glowing the turquoise sky and limpid sea of Ariadne's espousals ! For all his impetuosity, all his exaggeration, and the symbolism which must after all be admitted in him, Tintoretto could be accurate in depicting Nature, even in her details ; the praise bestowed by Ruskin on his naturalistic treatment of clouds, mountains, and foliage is well justified. Note, for instance, some of his chestnuts and oaks, and the crown of vine-leaves and grapes on the head of the *Bacchus* in the Doges' Palace. His spacious architectural backgrounds are also very skilfully employed ; two notable instances, where his contrasted lights and shadows are also seen, are the *Cenacolo* at San Giorgio and the *Marriage of Cana* in the Salute, Venice. Tintoretto's colour is almost always satisfying, save where too much blackness prevails ; his crimson, for example, is that of the damask rose, deep and velvety. His flesh-painting, one may incidentally remark, especially in the case of women, is unequalled in refinement and radiance.

We may perhaps say that the *Flight into Egypt* at San Rocco, Venice, is the most perfect of Tintoretto's normal daylight landscapes, that of the *St. Mary in Egypt*, in the same Scuola, of visionary ones ; that the

Narcissus of the Palazzo Colonna at Rome excels as a study of woodland, where the figures take a very subordinate part; that the San Rocco *Crucifixion* and the Parma *Deposition* are supreme examples of Nature brought into touching sympathy with human story. For aerial effect, what can equal the cloud-ringed radiance of our National Gallery *St. George*, with its

> edges kissed
> By a yellow light of amethyst?

For fathomless spaces of sky, what the *Hours and Luna* at Berlin, or our *Milky Way?* For realistic storm-effect, what the † *Transporting of St. Mark's Body* (Palazzo Reale, Venice) with its rain-swept Piazza, its blaze of lightning through dark clouds, and the blur of light behind?

The Church of the Madonna dell' Orto, on the outskirts of Venice, contains some of Tintoretto's earliest work. The *Last Judgment* and *Golden Calf* of its choir have been described by Ruskin in his highest interpretative vein; we may content ourselves with noticing the rush of water, and the contrast between the pale sky and the black clouds rimmed with light in the former; the wind-blown tree, with a vine trailing over it, in the latter. Far more attractive is the beautiful *St. Agnes*, in a side-chapel of the nave, with its pale gold sky slightly streaked with grey-blue clouds.

Several of the Tintorettos in the Academy, Venice, have landscape backgrounds. In the *St. Mark and the*

Slave a beautiful vine-trellis crosses the intensely blue sky, with its white clouds. The neighbouring *Adam and Eve* and *Cain and Abel* are marked by masses of very dark brown foliage, with a blue distance in the former, and an appropriately overcast and threatening sky in the latter. The long narrow panel (No. 239) of the *Madonna and Senators* has a lovely evening sky, seen over low hills and a wooded valley. A similar picture (No. 210) also has a sunset sky, with rolling grey clouds; here we see dark trees, a piece of water, and a flat-topped, distant mountain of the same shape as that in Bellini's *Madonna and Child* (No. 594). The *Crucifixion* (No. 213) forecasts that at San Rocco, and has some of its impressiveness; an olive-tree catches the light, other darker trees behind being grouped against the iron-grey sky. The *Deposition* (No. 217) is also full of solemn feeling; the intense blackness of its sky is relieved by a gleam of light, which falls palely on the figure of Christ and on His Mother's face, perhaps suggesting dim moonlight.

In the Doges' Palace the *Portrait of a Procurator* forms one of a very striking group of portraits in which sunset over the lagoons is seen through an open window—the others being the portrait of Admiral Venier in the Uffizi (No. 601), of Vincenzo Zeno in the Pitti (No. 131), and of a *Man playing the Spinet* in the Palazzo Colonna, Rome (No. 113). Clouds and water are flushed with the sunset glow; in the Colonna picture, which is the finest, birds wing their way across the stormy crimson sky, and a low island, with a

Anderson

Plate 47

THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT

FROM THE FRESCO BY TINTORETTO IN THE SCUOLA DI SAN ROCCO, VENICE. (*See p.* 291)

A natural landscape—so natural that we lose the sense of composition. A superb illustration of Tintoretto's characteristics in lights and shadows, clouds, and sweeping foliage

campanile, rises from the dark water. Ruskin must have overlooked these when he speaks as if Tintoretto had never painted sunset with "radiant cloud" and "zoned light on the green lagoon." Also when he expresses surprise at the absence of "marine effects carefully studied" among the Venetians. It is true that most Venetian seascapes are, like these, of coast and still sea or lagoon, rather than of wilder or more open sea. But both Titian and Tintoretto could paint a wild, swelling sea also, as in the latter's *Man rescuing Two Women* at Dresden, and Titian's *Perseus and Andromeda* of the Wallace Collection. Among other Venetian seascapes we may incidentally mention Catena's *St. Jerome* in the National Gallery and *Sta. Cristina* in Sta. Maria Mater Domini, Venice, and two beautiful examples by Savoldo, one in the Brera (No. 114), the other a *Pietà* at Berlin. (A glimpse of lagoon is also seen in his National Gallery *St. Mary Magdalene*.) At Bergamo (Morelli Collection) two pictures by Francesco da Santa Croce show reflections in the lagoon, and white sails; the open sea stretches at the horizon beyond a spit of land. Another example is the sea-coast in the *Doge Mocenigo* of the National Gallery, probably by Carpaccio.

The stupendous series of paintings in the Scuola di San Rocco—on the upper and lower floor, sixty-two in all—must be considered Tintoretto's highest achievement. They are, of course, treated at great length in "Modern Painters," but are unfortunately so dark as to be almost invisible except on a bright day

and to good sight; it is doubtful if any eye, save that of faith, could make visible much of what Ruskin read into them. Many have landscape settings, of which the chief features are iron-grey or intense blue skies, with cloud-masses or bursts of yellowish light; dark rocks, or water sometimes catching the light, and dense, sometimes rather sketchy foliage. (Ruskin's word "flakes" well describes Tintoretto's leaves.) Such, for example, are seen in the *Baptism*, the *Annunciation*, the *Gethsemane*, the *Ascension*, or the *Brazen Serpent*. In the *Raising of Lazarus* a dark fig-tree, springing from the rocky tomb, is outlined against the wan sky. The vine-trellis in the *Pool of Bethesda* recalls that of the *St. Mark* in the Academy; the sky here is lightish blue and white. Fantastic piles of dark rock, covered with grasses and plants, are seen in the *Resurrection;* in the *Sleep of the Disciples* there is a sombre red light in the sky, with silvery grey moonlight on the sleeping figures and the hedge of laurel above them; behind is a steep, rocky hill, with trees. Ruskin considered the nearer stones in the *Temptation* the best rock-drawing known to him before Turner. Water gushes in clear, bright lines from the rock that Moses strikes, and distant, rugged mountains are seen under a clouded sky.

The great *Crucifixion* is probably the most moving representation of that solemn theme ever painted. If Perugino in Sta. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi gives the highest presentment of it as a *Pietà*—an object of devout meditation and adoration—Tintoretto here

assuredly gives the most realistic, and at the same time deeply felt, version of the scene as it must have passed before the bystanders' eyes. Around the crowd of figures in their different groups—hostile, indifferent, or pierced with sorrow—and around the majestic uplifted Figure, the unearthly twilight closes in ; the noonday sun seems darkening as we gaze, dim light still lingers over the distant hills, but the heaven is as iron, the halo round the Saviour's Head " of the colour of ashes," as Ruskin puts it in his eloquent description. (His allusion to the symbolism of the man on the ass that eats the withered palm-branches will also be remembered.) In the desolate, stony foreground some bushes are seen, and dark trees are massed together.

On the opposite wall is the hardly less impressive *Via Crucis ;* here the road winds uphill, and a dark slender tree, with heavy leaves, stands out on the slope against the wonderful sky, full of the light of dawn—one of the finest of Tintoretto's many fine skies. (Miss March Philipps by an oversight speaks of it as *evening* light.)

We have left to the end the description of the loveliest landscapes of the series, the *Journey into Egypt* and the *St. Mary of Egypt.* The first is truly idyllic, the very type of peaceful, rural scenery, with its distant hills catching the sunlight, and its nearer woods. A central group of trees divides the picture into two ; to the right, a cottage nestles among trees near some water, and a palm—the solitary Oriental

feature—is seen in the foreground. The sky is an intense blue, with banks of grey cloud. The whole effect is magnificent. In the *St. Mary of Egypt* the Saint is descried seated in the wilderness, by a rippling stream, whose tiny waves sparkle in the magical moonlight; no less magical is the sense of receding distance. A companion picture, the *St. Mary Magdalene*, renders a similar effect; the light is yellower, but still that of the moon. Besides the water, it touches the trunk and twy-forked boughs of a great tree, whose large, heavy foliage is in shadow. Compared with this visionary moonlight, that of Lotto or of Altdorfer, yes, even that of Titian (*cf.* pp. 255, 265), seems solid, earthly, commonplace; here is the very mystery of Night and Solitude.

Tintoretto as lover of the woodland is seen also in the *Narcissus* of the Palazzo Colonna (No. 17), a picture that, as we have said, is almost entirely landscape, and most poetically treated. Brown and grey-green are its prevailing hues; light filters from a yellowish sky through the dark foliage of a grove of trees with massive trunks. In the centre foreground is seen the pool over which Narcissus leans, and, in the distance, fields and hills. The same Gallery contains the *Portraits of Two Men* (No. 30), also subdued in colour; a pergola and terrace with flowery hedges are seen behind the figures.

Another splendid and characteristic Tintoretto is the *Entombment*, or rather *Pietà*, in the Parma Gallery (No. 231), of rich, jewel-like colour. A dark pile of

rock fills the left side, tree-branches are silhouetted against the sunset sky, of deep blue-grey, its white clouds tinged with amber. On the right side, the three Crosses stand on a low wooded hill, with water at its base, while in the immediate foreground a few stubble-stalks and a trail of scarlet leaves supply a vivid and natural completing touch. All the deep, reverent feeling that marks Tintoretto's other Passion scenes pervades this also. The same subject is rather similarly treated in the Bridgewater House Gallery, though with certain modifications, and less detail and imaginative feeling. The fading light of a solemn twilight sky is here contrasted with that of tapers in the foreground.

The *Adam and Eve* belonging to Mr. R. Crawshay was shown in the Rome Exhibition of 1911; it has the large, dark foliage, seen against a yellowish sky, typical of Tintoretto; some of the leaves are apple and fig, and their shadow falls on Eve, who is herself in the sun. Sir F. Cook's *St. John the Baptist* (No. 50) has scarcely the master's accustomed richness of colour, while the colour of the *Visitation* at Bologna (No. 145) is unwontedly and unpleasingly bright, and its landscape, though spacious, is comparatively uninteresting. Both these pictures have Tintoretto's favourite yellow light in a clouded grey-blue sky. The *Susanna* of the Louvre (No. 1464) is more conspicuous for its realistic and curious detail than for wider landscape treatment; it has indeed the usual dense grove, with oak-foliage of exaggerated size seen against a glowing sky, but the

attention is at once caught by the frogs, ducks, rabbit, and pheasant round the dark, reedy pond—hardly an inviting bath for a fair lady.

With our National Gallery *St. George* we regain the realms of romance. How suggestive of faeryland are those green slopes, with their dark fringe of enchanted woods, and the long walls of the castle whose "magic casements" open on a sea, not now perilous or foaming, but stretching quietly to the horizon, bathed in warm light!

* * *

The last two Venetian masters to whom we shall allude, Bassano and Paolo Veronese, scarcely come within our scope. Although their lives were contemporary with Tintoretto's, their methods and results were those of the succeeding century; they should rank with Rubens rather than with the medieval painters.

JACOPO BASSANO. [1510–1592]

Jacopo Bassano, called after his birthplace of that name some miles north of Venice, has, indeed, many points of resemblance with the Dutch School. His name calls up memories of homely details of peasant life shrouded in murky gloom, relieved by a stray gleam of light. Pictures answering to this description may be found in the Brera, the Venice Academy, or the Conservatori at Rome. But Bassano could paint very beautiful landscapes, in daylight and natural colouring, and with quite the modern feeling for

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BOAZ AND RUTH

FROM THE PICTURE BY BASSANO AT HAMPTON COURT

This landscape is quite modern in its feeling for Nature; the human interest is subordinate. It is a prelude to Rubens and Cuyp

Rights, 28

Nature; Mr. Berenson, in fact, considers him a pioneer in modern landscape-painting (*cf.* p. 21). Several good examples of his work are at Hampton Court; the *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Ambrosiana, Milan (No. 40), is another. In the foreground is a finely painted pear-tree, with a lizard on its trunk, up which a vine with grape-clusters climbs, mingled with ivy and blossoming bramble. A *Man's Portrait* in the National Gallery shows, through a square opening, a mellow evening sky, with soft-hued hills, fields, and trees.

PAOLO CALIARI (VERONESE). [1528–1588]

The splendid and sumptuous visions evoked by the name of Paolo Veronese are not of landscape, but of vast halls and marble galleries, such as we are familiar with in his masterpieces at Dresden, or in the Louvre, the Brera, the Venice Academy, or our own National Gallery. Less concerned with the problems of light and shade than the painters whom we have just been considering, he nevertheless treated his skies in his own magnificent, sweeping style. How wonderful, for example, is that expanse of cloud-flecked heaven in the Brera *Feast in the Pharisee's House* and in the Louvre *Marriage in Cana!* Several of Veronese's great state pictures in the Doges' Palace have also fine clouds and skies. In two of them a view of Venice is introduced. Of his pictures with outdoor settings, we may mention the *Europa*, also in the Doges' Palace; the *Baptism* of the Pitti, and the *Martyrdom*

of Sta. Giustina in the Uffizi. In the *Europa* the interest is concentrated on the figures, the pale green water and the dark tree-trunks with their large, fern-like foliage, as well as the flowers in the foreground, being conventionally treated. The same dark trees and large foliage are seen in the *Baptism*, of which the finest feature is the deep blue sky, touched with white. The Uffizi *Sta. Giustina* (No. 589) has more careful detail; we see, for instance, a waggon crossing a bridge over a brook, almost in the Gainsborough manner. There is a grove of short, rounded trees, and two taller, feathery ones. In the *St. Antony and the Fishes* of the Borghese Gallery, Rome, the Saint is set on a high rock overlooking a wide stretch of sea. Dark foliage is seen behind the figures in both the *Finding of Moses* and the *Susanna* at Dresden; in the former a fine bridge spans a river, a town lying on its farther bank.

* * *

And here we part from our company of Italian Nature-painters. They have led us by pleasant paths, from the grave beauty of the Tuscan countryside and from saintly Umbria, across the rich plains of Lombardy, to the "sun-girt city" of the lagoons. We leave that city still glowing in her autumnal glory, albeit all too soon to be encompassed, with the rest of Italy, by chills and shadows. In the general degradation and dissolution that then overtook Italian art, one is glad to remember that landscape-painting survived, and was handed on as a precious legacy—

that Tintoretto inspired Velasquez, and Rubens borrowed from Italy fresh oil to rekindle the lamp lit centuries before by the Van Eycks and Patinir—until, through Poussin, Claude, and the Italian studies of our own Sir Joshua Reynolds, there arose the great modern landscape Schools of England and France.

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* Italy is only a small part of the field covered here; the illustrations are quite out of date, but it is the most important work I know on the subject.

† A great part of my book was already written before the appearance of these interesting articles, with their admirably chosen illustrations.

‡ M. Michel's main concern is with modern landscapists; less than thirty of his pages are devoted to the early Italian painters, and surprising omissions are shown.

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NOTE

Several of the more important pictures described in the text have been reproduced in colour; one may instance the following:

Perugino's *Crucifixion* (Pazzi)
Pintoricchio's *St. Catherine* (Borgia Apartments)
Pisanello's *St. George* (Verona)
} By the Arundel Society

Giorgione's *Tempestà*, *Philosophers*, and *Fête Champêtre*
Titian's *Bacchus and Ariadne*
L. di Credi's *Annunciation* (Uffizi)
} By the Medici Society

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